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IRELAND

A HISTORY FOR LOWER FORMS

BY

JOHN E. MORRIS, D.Litt. (Oxford),
Litt.D. (Manchester), Bedford School

WITH 100 ILLUSTRATIONS AND PLANS

Cambridge:
at the University Press
1920

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

I wish to reply in a few words to a critic whose remarks appeared in an educational journal of repute. A schoolmaster and a writer for schools must present to a class two sides of a question. In most books the royalists of the Civil War have hardly received fair play, and I felt it necessary to present certain arguments somewhat strongly. But it does not follow that Macaulay is a *bête noire* to me, whether as regards that period or as regards his attack on Marlborough. The young ought to have the case for Laud or Strafford or Marlborough put strongly before them as a matter of fair play. Another critic, who objected to my remarks on ship-money, I would refer to the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Third Series, Vol. IV.

If I have given considerable space to Domesday Book this was done with the deliberate wish to fix young minds on critical periods. The Roman occupation may have lasted 360 years and William's reign 21 years, but a writer must pay attention to the importance of certain events as influencing the generations to come, not to mere duration of time.

I would point out that as a teacher I have found that a class always gains benefit from the presentment of facts according to dates. How can the Confirmation of the Charters be understood if treated in a section of constitutional history, while Wallace's rising is described in a section some pages further on? Therefore my plan throughout has been to write according to years and not subjects. A class can easily be made to pick out of several chapters the events concerning Scotland or India or the American colonies, whereas reading a chapter devoted to one subject only it loses all sense of other events happening at the same time.

J. E. M.

BEDFORD SCHOOL, 1913.

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

In the fifth year of the greatest of all wars, now that we at last see daylight, it is not amiss to expand the history of events since 1815. We have at last a *terminus ad quem*. The settlement of Europe by the Congress of Vienna, which gave Rhineland to the Prussians and N.E. Italy and half of the Adriatic coast to the Austrians, can now be viewed in the right perspective. The wars between 1848 and 1878, all our domestic history of Reform Bills and Factory Acts, the teaching of Carlyle and of Mill, can be judged with some sense of proportion.

Some ardent reformers cry out that we should "scrap" all our earlier periods, start at Elizabeth's reign, and concentrate our attention on the British Empire. But it would be fatal to neglect the past, of which we have a reminder in every old cathedral and parish church, manor-house and ruined castle. The young must still learn about Saxons and Normans, if only to understand what has been saved from the Huns. Therefore it is most unfortunate that those who control some of our examinations have limited the periods to be studied. We should implore them to make the subject of History twice as important as it now is, not to cut it down as something that anyone can cram. Knowledge and enthusiasm about our own country are wanted to-day.

To neglect Europe and study only the British Empire would make us more, not less, insular. English and British history requires some knowledge of European events at every period, Australian or Canadian history only at a few isolated periods. It seems that such reformers have lost the sense of proportion. Early and medieval times, modern times, foreign policy, home affairs, navy and army, mother country and colonies and dominions, agriculture and trade and industry, our aim should be to touch on each in turn. This has been the writer's aim when he has done his best to expand his last three chapters. There is now a special chapter on Agriculture and Industry, and the movements to which they gave rise and the influence of the early Victorian writers have received some care.

J. E. M.

BEDFORD SCHOOL, *November* 1918.

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CELTIC AND ROMAN BRITAIN

THE INVASIONS OF JULIUS CAESAR, 55 AND 54 B.C.
ROMAN CONQUEST BY CLAUDIUS, 43 A.D.
ROMAN ARMIES DEPART, 407.

Who were the Ancient Britons? The men who first inhabited our island we usually call Britons. But this is really not accurate. There were many races who came over here before the Christian era, and we ought to keep them apart.

Scientific men who have examined their places of burial, their skeletons, their weapons and domestic implements, give us information about them.

The earliest inhabitants were small men with dark skins and long narrow heads, and we call them *Iberians*. They were wild folk and lived by hunting. But they possessed two arts; they could make knives and rough hatchets of chipped flints, and picks of reindeer-horn; they could light fires and thus scare away wild beasts. The period when they lived is called *The Stone Age*, because they used stone for their weapons and implements.

Similar small dark men lived in other parts of Europe, and their descendants, the Basques, at the west end of the Pyrenees, speak to-day a peculiar language of their own.

Then came across the sea, but we know not when, bigger and fairer tribes of men with broad round heads. Some of them spoke the Celtic language, and were

kinsmen of the Gauls who invaded Italy and burnt Rome in B.C. 390. In fact they were part of a great many tribes who overran Hispania (Spain) and Gallia (France), to which they gave their name, as well as north Italy, which the Romans called Nearer Gaul. They pushed the Iberians further and further to the west, for they were better fighters and knew how to work in bronze, so that they used bronze spears.

Their period is *The Bronze Age*, but they also used stone and horn. Whether they or the Iberians constructed the numerous camps and hill-forts, and the mighty mysterious circles of huge stones such as Stonehenge, is difficult to decide. Stonehenge was probably designed as a temple-cemetery to honour the dead. The Maiden Castle near Dorchester is a wonderful earthwork, a city rather than a camp, with four deep ditches and lofty ramparts, 45 acres by inner measurement, 115 acres inside the outermost ditch.

Lastly came *The Brythons*, from whom we have the words Briton and Britain. They were cousins of the Gauls, but spoke a different dialect of the Celtic language. Probably they were the first to use iron weapons in this island.

The Gauls did not destroy the Iberians, nor the Britons destroy the Gauls. Each new set of invaders partly conquered and enslaved the men they found; the rest were driven westwards and northwards if they wished to remain free. The Gaelic language is spoken to-day in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and in Ireland; and the British language is spoken in Wales, and was spoken not so very long ago in Cornwall. Often in Wales in the same family some of the brothers may be fair and big-headed, and others dark and narrow-headed, which seems to show how Iberians and Gauls and Britons mixed with each other and married In the few centuries just before the invasion of Julius Caesar they were no longer mere wild ignorant savages. They cut down forest trees with their axes of bronze or iron, and made settlements. They used coined money. They had a

Stonehenge, Wiltshire

considerable trade with Europe in corn and minerals, and their tin and lead were prized by those great merchants of old days, the Phoenicians. A Greek traveller from Massilia (Marseilles) praised the richness of our island about 300 years before Christ.

Gradual Conquest by the Romans. The mighty city of Rome was gradually conquering the lands round the Mediterranean from 200 onwards, and in 63 B.C. Pompey the Great annexed Syria. To his rival, Julius Caesar, fell the task of annexing Gaul in B.C. 58, for the Romans ever had to conquer new lands so as to keep safe what they had last conquered. It was to frighten the Britons, and to prevent them from sending supplies and help to their kinsmen the Gauls, that Caesar made two descents upon Britain in B.C. 55 and 54. He started from Portus Itius, which is either Boulogne or some port near Boulogne, and he landed near Deal. But he remained only a short time each year. It was in the second invasion that he crossed the Thames and made a treaty with a chieftain named Cassivellaunus.

The first serious invasion was in A.D. 43 in the reign of the emperor Claudius, and the work of conquest by the Romans went on slowly but steadily. Camulodunum (Colchester) was the first Roman colony, being conveniently situated up a creek on the east coast. Some very fierce fighting took place along the river Severn, where the chieftain Caradoc, or Caratacus, resisted desperately. The Romans at last won a great victory, probably on the river Teme, a tributary of the Severn, where a sugar-loaf hill, still known as Caer Caradoc, commemorates the British hero; an encampment on the hill was strengthened by stone walls, but the steady Romans with their shields locked over their heads—this was the *testudo* or tortoise-formation, for the raised shields looked like a tortoise's shell—stormed the position. Regular troops with their cool courage and training and discipline must in the long

run beat fierce half-trained hordes. The Roman short swords and short heavy javelins were as effective as modern bayonets and rifles against such foes.

The Great Revolt of Boadicea. Very soon, in the year 60, when Nero was emperor, the tribe of the Iceni

broke into revolt. They lived in the present counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. Their chief was the ever famous warrior queen Boadicea; the correct spelling is said to be Boudicca, and the meaning is Victoria! Roman deceit and cruelty caused the revolt, and the Iceni, in revenge, stormed Camulodunum, Verulamium (St Albans) and Londinium, and massacred the inhabitants. But at last the general, Suetonius Paulinus, concentrated his troops and fought a pitched battle. He made them a short sarcastic speech, so the Roman historian Tacitus tells us; "They should despise the yells of the barbarians; there were more women than men in the British ranks; in all battles a few good troops decide the day." And, sure enough, the Romans gained a tremendous victory.

The emperor Nero had been a mad tyrant; he had persecuted the early Christians, and put St Paul to death. When he died there was a terrible civil war in Italy, but at last a fine manly soldier became emperor; this was Vespasian, who, in his younger days, had himself fought in Britain, and afterwards against the Jews, and whose son Titus finally took Jerusalem. Vespasian chose to be *legatus* another fine soldier, Agricola, by whom the conquest of Britain was practically finished. The tribes of the west and north were subdued, and he even penetrated into Scotland and won a battle somewhere near Perth among the Grampians. But Vespasian's feeble son Domitian, jealous of his greatness, recalled him.

There was more war after Agricola's time, but not on a large scale. *Hadrian*, who came over in person A.D. 120 to survey the province, planned *the great wall* from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth. His object was to abstain from conquest further north, and by this impregnable line of fortifications to keep the more savage Caledonians out of the already conquered parts of Britain. Another emperor, Antoninus, did indeed construct a second wall between the Clyde and the Forth, but it was soon abandoned. Probably

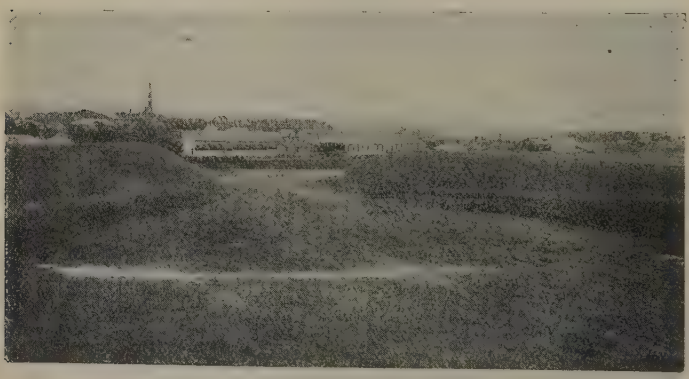
a yet later emperor rebuilt Hadrian's wall in stone, and much of this work still exists. It was seventy miles long, and was defended by at least 15,000 men who had camps and towers at intervals.

How Britain prospered under the Romans. Under Roman rule the ravages of war were soon re-

Roman wall and moat, Rochester

paired. Fierce and often cruel as conquerors, the Romans were very good organizers and rulers when a province was once conquered. Their rule of empire was to break down resistance and then govern justly. *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*—Spare the vanquished, and crush the proud—says the poet Virgil. It is one of the errors of history to picture the Romans as nothing but ruthless tyrants. Except in Wales the Britons under Roman sway lost the art of fighting, but gained very much in the arts of peace and civilization. Villas and

towns sprang up in every direction, and the ruins of these can still be seen. A villa was not a small suburban residence, but a great country house with its outbuildings accommodating large numbers of servants. A famous town and health-resort with valuable medicinal waters was Aquæ Sulis, now known as Bath. But the Britons were never as thoroughly Romanized as the Gauls. The French and Spanish languages no less than the modern Italian are derived from Latin, but here the Romans left behind them only a few names of places; the commonest is *chester*, from



Roman amphitheatre near Dorchester

castra or camp; others are *port* or harbour, *coln* or colony. Winchester and Lancaster, Portchester and Lincoln, are instances.

No less than five legions were in Britain at one time or another. A legion was much bigger than our regiment, and was in itself a small army. Three remained permanently after the conquest; one at Lincoln, afterwards transferred to York; another at Chester; the third at Caerleon in South-east Wales, the Welsh pronunciation of *Castra legionis*. You will notice that two of the three

were stationed just where the Britons of Wales in their mountain homes always remained most warlike. Hadrian's wall was garrisoned by other troops, not regular legions. The recruits were mostly drawn from distant parts of the Roman empire.

The commercial centre was Londinium. The wide mouth of the Thames was naturally the chief channel of trade between Britain and Europe, and London was

Maiden Castle (British) near Dorchester, Dorset

the most suitable place for a trading city, because the tide reaches it, yet it is well inland, and the water is not deep enough to prevent a bridge from being built at low tide. From Londinium ran three great roads; Watling Street, which connects eastwards with Dover, and north-westwards with Chester; Erming Street, which runs straight to Lincoln, and thence to York; and the third, which has four branches, to Winchester, to Exeter, to Bath, and to Gloucester and

Caerleon. Notice that Gloucester and Chester, like London, are well situated up tidal rivers, and the bridge in each case makes the town a centre for commerce and war. A network of cross-roads and branch-roads connected Colchester and Lincoln and York with Chester and Gloucester and Bath. The Roman engineers built their roads solid. Their object was to construct imperishable tracks for the soldiers first, and for traders in the second

Erming Street in Hertfordshire

place. They chose high ground as much as possible, so as to avoid swamps and to let the soldiers see their enemy; you must remember that in those days the river valleys were much more full of water than now, and the forests also were very dense in the valleys. Now-a-days a railway engineer lays his line, wherever he can, round the foot of a hill; the Romans preferred to go up and down. A good instance is Shooter's Hill, eight miles from London Bridge, where the modern road goes straight up exactly where

Watling Street went, but the railway curves round. The Romans were the best engineers that the world ever saw before the nineteenth century. Places with *strat* in them, such as Stratford and Streatley, indicate Roman roads or *streets*.

Christianity gradually spread in Britain in the 2nd century, and St Alban, said to have been put to death at Verulamium, is counted as the first martyr; in Saxon days

Brixworth, Northants; Saxon church with arches of Roman tiles

an abbey was built in his memory on a hill a mile off, and round the abbey grew up a new town of St Albans. Under the emperor Constantius, York was made the capital of the empire of the west, second only to Rome, and from York his son Constantine set out to make himself master of Rome. He was the first Christian emperor, and enlarged and renamed the old city of Byzantium, in the extreme east of Europe, Constantinople, in 330.

The Roman Empire is broken up. Now we come to the decline, and soon to the fall, of the Roman empire. It was not so much pride, or wealth, or luxury, or laziness, that destroyed the empire, as rivalry and ceaseless civil war. At first sight it seems absurd that a ruler should be succeeded by his eldest son, who may be a bad or weak man; this is succession by primogeniture, or the law of the first-born. But a moment's thought will show you that a bad reign is better than a civil war between two or three good men, each of whom thinks himself the most fit to rule. Between A.D. 200 and 400 the death of nearly every Roman emperor was followed by war. The legions in Britain were ambitious to put their chosen leader on the throne, and the legions in Gaul or Spain, Macedonia or Syria, to put theirs. So the empire was rent by war, and various tribes from central and eastern Europe, the Goths who were Germans and Christians, and the Huns who were heathen savages, poured over the Rhine and Danube. Saxon fleets threatened the south and east coasts of Britain, so that a special officer was appointed on purpose to beat them off and named "the Count of the Saxon shore." At last in 407 the legions from Britain were taken over to Gaul by an adventurer who called himself Constantine, and they never returned. Britain had now to govern and to defend herself.

NOTE.—The Icknield Way is acknowledged to be a pre-Roman road. Along its course are very many funeral mounds and camps of the Stone and Bronze ages. At one end is Brandon, where hundreds of pits have been found where Stone Age men dug for their flints; at the other is Avebury, the site of a very old stone circle or temple. Probably the Way finally ran on to Stonehenge.

The Pilgrims' Way was also a pre-Roman track, leading from the coast through Canterbury and along the downs, and its name is due to its being used by the pilgrims visiting Becket's shrine after Henry II's reign.

ANGLO-SAXONS AND DANES

HENGIST AND HORSA, 449; ALFRED THE GREAT, 871—901; CANUTE, 1017—1035.

The coming of German Pirates. Roman Britain, left without a regular army, was soon attacked on two sides. The unconquered Gaels of Ireland and Scotland swarmed into the north, even over Hadrian's wall. By sea came German pirates from the low lands round the mouth of the Elbe and from south Denmark, who spoke a language called Low Dutch. Even before 407 the Romans had had to keep up a fleet to beat them off. According to the story, Vortigern, a British chief, invited over some Jutes to help him against the Scots from the north; they came in 449 under Hengist and Horsa, helped Vortigern, then turned against him and conquered for themselves. They founded the kingdom of Kent, and their capital was Canterbury.

We need not remember many dates and names. Just let us fix our minds on the one great fact that during about 400 years the newcomers transformed part of Britain, namely England and S.E. Scotland, into a German-speaking country. It is a very long period, as long as the period which separates us from Henry VIII and the Reformation. One great body of invaders were called Angles, another Saxons; from the Angles we are called English, and from both is made up the phrase Anglo-Saxon. But we ourselves

are not Anglo-Saxons; we are descended from those Britons who survived, from Angles and Saxons, and also from the next batches of conquerors, the Danes and the Normans, not to mention the Flemings and French who have settled amongst us at various dates. Our English language is German in origin, but very many changes in it have been caused by Norman-French, by the Latin of the Church, and the later Latin of learned and scientific men.

Let us take the Anglo-Saxon conquest according to geography. The Jutes had created the kingdom of Kent. A second body of pirates created the kingdom of Sussex, that is, of the South Saxons. Similarly was formed a third kingdom, called Essex, by their cousins, the East Saxons. Further north settled the Angles, who called themselves the North and the South Folk, in Norfolk and Suffolk, which together made up East Anglia. The word *king* was their name for each chief, and it signifies the head of *kinsmen*. Under-kings were *aldermen*, that is to say "elder men," a word whose meaning has curiously changed. These little kingdoms did not extend into the interior. Sussex was cut off by a vast forest, and East Anglia by forests and fens; but the men of Kent and Essex, who might have penetrated up the Thames, were blocked by London for a time.

Some historians think that the West Saxons, who founded the kingdom of Wessex, conquered originally up the Thames valley, and thence spread into Berkshire and Hampshire. Others say that they entered Britain by the great inlet which faces the Isle of Wight, known to-day as Southampton Water, and that their original kingdom of *Wessex* was the present Hampshire, whence in the course of a century they passed into Berkshire, Dorset, and Wiltshire, struck the Thames and spread up and down its course. They had plenty of hard fighting, especially against a British chief who beat and checked them for a time at *Mons Badonicus*, Badbury Rings, in Dorset; this was the hero whom legend and

poetry have celebrated as the mighty Christian king, Arthur, the glory of chivalry. We must suppose that the West Saxons won a great reputation as fighters, and that as fast as new bands arrived from Germany they preferred to attach themselves to these conquerors rather than to the smaller kingdoms of Kent and Essex. At last a king named Ceawlin avenged Badbury by a great victory at *Deorham*, near Bath, in 577. Wessex was now extended to the Avon and Severn, and cut the Britons of Wales apart from those of Cornwall. Ceawlin was hailed as Bretwalda, the "wielder" of Britain.

Let us here pause to notice that the West Saxons did not reach the Severn till 170 years after the departure of the Roman soldiers; this is a long period and shows how gradual was their advance. Also they did not always destroy with fire the Romano-British settlements, nor kill all the inhabitants. Silchester, for instance, was simply deserted and fell into ruin by slow decay, because the Saxons preferred to settle in villages rather than in towns.

Meanwhile the Angles penetrated into Britain from the Wash up the river Nen, and from the Humber up the Trent and the Ouse. They, too, must have received large reinforcements from their kinsfolk. They had constantly to fight the Britons, but finally they founded two big kingdoms, *Northumbria* between the Humber and the Forth, and *Mercia* in the midlands. But it was a very long time before the Northumbrians reached the western coast. Not till 613 did they conquer Chester. So, about that date, the Britons of south-west Scotland and Cumberland were cut off from the Britons of Wales by Chester, just as the spread of the West Saxons into Somerset cut off Wales from Cornwall.

The next thing that we see is that the Northumbrians fought against the Mercians, and the Mercians against the West Saxons; that is to say, the invaders, having thoroughly beaten the Britons, very naturally turned against each other.

The Conversion of England. Both Angles and Saxons came as heathens and persecutors. Christianity was re-introduced into England from two sides. The faith had never died out wholly amongst the Britons, and it was from the north that missionaries from Ireland and Scotland, such as St Colomba, spread into Northumbria, though very slowly. The chief religious settlement was on the little island of *Lindisfarne* off the coast of the present county of Northumberland. On the other side missionaries came to Kent from Rome. Pope Gregory the Great sent St Augustine, who landed in Kent in 597 and made *Canterbury* the southern centre of Christianity. For a long time the Mercians remained heathen, while the Angles of the north and the Jutes and Saxons of the south were being converted. But the faith gradually spread even in Mercia. In 664 a debate was held at *Whitby*, and it was finally decided that all the Christians of England should be in communion with the central Church of Rome. There came from Rome to be Archbishop of Canterbury a priest named Theodore, of Tarsus in Asia Minor, the home of the first great Christian preacher to the Gentiles, namely St Paul. Theodore reorganised the Church in England; though it was not till rather later that the bishopric of York became a second Archbishopric. But though Angles and Saxons now worshipped alike and formed one church, they were far from forming one nation.

Between about 600 and 700 the strongest of the kingdoms was that of Northumbria; between 700 and 800 it was Mercia. The strongest king of the Mercians was named Offa, who beat the Britons and constructed Offa's Dyke as a boundary between England and Wales. We must now call these Britons by the name of Welsh, which meant in the language of the conquerors "strangers." Offa also beat the West Saxons back to the Thames. At last about the year 830 Egbert won supremacy for Wessex, and in his turn over-ran Mercia up to the Humber.

The Coming of the Heathen Danes. In the eighth century a new and fierce enemy appeared. These were the Danes and Norwegians, otherwise called Northmen. They came in their long light galleys, rowed into the bays and up the rivers, burnt and plundered, and spread terror far and wide. They were heathens and knew no mercy. At first they came simply and solely for plunder, and they harried the coasts not only of England, but of all western Europe, and even reached the Mediterranean. Some time after the death of Egbert parties of Danes began to settle instead of sailing away after their raids. Now the Angles and Saxons must have been much more numerous than the Danes, and yet they were in abject terror of them. This has to be explained.

The Anglo-Saxon village life. During the period of the Anglo-Saxon conquest and settlement, roughly between 450 and 850, the character of these tribes seems to undergo a change. Not only were they converted to Christianity, but also they gradually began to enjoy a peaceful life as farmers. Of course their peace was much interrupted by their wars against each other, but on the whole it may be truly said that farming became their chief occupation. As each piece of land was conquered from the Britons they settled down in villages with their families, and the names which they gave to these villages exist to the present day; places ending in *ton*, *ham*, *hill*, *ford*, etc., show where they set themselves to farm. A *hide* of land, about 120 acres, but by no means accurate acres of 4840 square yards, was the ordinary plot of each family. All the free landholders of the village farmed the land in common in three fields, of which two were ploughed each year and one was fallow by turns; sometimes in two fields, one ploughed and one fallow. The fields were divided into strips, a furlong or furrow-long in length. Say there are 100 strips and ten families in the village; all the men plough and reap in common, but A. gathers the corn from

strips 1, 11, 21, etc., B. from strips 2, 12, 22, etc., and so on, so that no man's land lay in one patch. They had in return for their land certain duties to perform. They were all free warriors and had to defend their country; also they had to join at the king's command the national army, whether of Wessex or Mercia, East Anglia or Kent, which was called the *fyrd*. Secondly, they had to attend the *mote* or meeting of all the freemen; here justice was administered and fines were inflicted. When the Angles and Saxons were still heathens they used to have blood-feuds, and the kinsmen of a murdered man claimed the right to avenge his death. But in course of time a blood-fine, called *wergeld*, was substituted, so many shillings to be paid to the kin of a murdered man according to his rank. Also there was the *Ordeal*; a man accused of crime had to undergo a test by fire or red-hot iron or boiling water, the idea being that if he were innocent the Almighty would not allow him to suffer harm.

Of course as far back as even 450 there must have been some distinction between leader and led. Yet the warriors seemed to regard themselves as all free and all equal. Below them there must have been many slaves and semi-slaves, whether conquered Britons or degraded Saxons. The Britons were by no means exterminated, and, though mostly enslaved, they could rise in the scale of freedom. From various reasons therefore one can picture differences of class and rank creeping into the Anglo-Saxon society. As time went on, they grew to be more fond of farming than fighting. Many of the warriors lost their energy, and with it their freedom. The king always claimed large pieces of land in each part of his dominions, and had his own picked soldiers and companions. So naturally he preferred that these should do the fighting, while he made the farmers, who shirked their military duties, pay for those who did not shirk. It is this change from the fierce pirates and warriors of 450 to the land-loving farmers of 850 which

enabled the Danes to conquer so easily. It also explains why the Danes seemed so wicked in their eyes; the descendants of the old pirates, now respectable land-owners, looked upon the new pirates as most unspeakable robbers.

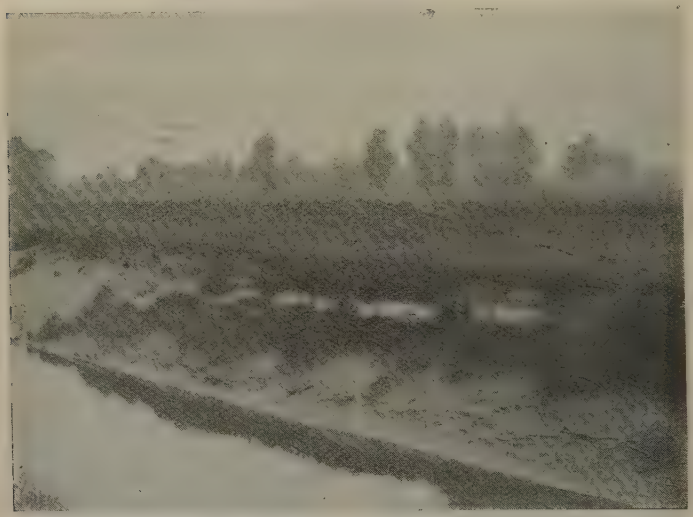
When the Danes were tempted to conquer and stay on the conquered lands, we find them settling in the greatest numbers along the east coast, and in the north-east midlands. Here they introduced Danish customs, so that

Saxon arch, Earl's Barton

Norman arch, Earl's Barton

in 1086 when Domesday Book was drawn up the land was measured not by Saxon *hides*, but by Danish *carucates*, and the political divisions were *wapentakes*, from the assemblies in which the fierce Danes "touched" or clashed their "weapons." They did not like farming in common, but each Dane preferred his own little farmstead. To maintain their hold over the country they formed garrisons in central places, especially the five towns Lincoln, Stam-

ford, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester. One of their bodies founded the kingdom of York, and another the kingdom of East Anglia. Elsewhere they did not settle so thickly, and the Saxon system of hides was not entirely done away with. They also sailed along the south coast and into the Bristol Channel, and even to Ireland, raiding in one place, conquering in another. Places



"Island" of Athelney

"The Island of the Princes." It would be a real island now if the river Tone were not embanked

ending in *by* and *wich* or *wick* mark Danish settlements, such as Whitby, Ipswich, Berwick; *by* means "farm," and *wich* is a "creek." On the coast of Ireland we find Waterford and similar names, *ford* here meaning "fiord." But many Anglo-Saxon names remain in Danish districts, and of the five towns mentioned above two have Roman endings, two Saxon, and only one Danish.

Alfred the Great saves Wessex. The smaller Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were simply destroyed by these attacks of the Danes. Even the big kingdom of Mercia was broken up. It seemed as if Wessex was going to give way, and a great Danish land army penetrated across the Thames. Then a true hero arose to meet the danger. Alfred, rightly named the Great, fought in 871 nine fierce battles, but was gradually beaten out of Berkshire towards

White Horse at Edington, near Westbury, Wiltshire

Salisbury, and had to buy off his enemy. In 878 he was surprised by another attack and took refuge in the Isle of *Athelney* in the midst of the fens and swamps of Somerset; it is to this year that the story of the cakes belongs. The West Saxon host was collected, Alfred slipped out and met them, and beat Guthrum, the Danish chieftain, in a great battle at *Ethandun* or Edington, where now the figure of a white horse is seen on the side of the green downs. Both Edington and Athelney are on a line of the

Great Western Railway[1], by which express trains run from London to Exeter. Guthrum was driven not only out of Wessex but also out of western Mercia, and two treaties were arranged between him and Alfred; the more important one was in the year 885. A boundary was drawn between Saxon and Dane. The line was this: the Thames up to the mouth of the Lea, the Lea up to its source near Luton, an artificial line from Luton to Bedford, the river Ouse up stream till it cuts Watling Street, and thence Watling Street itself to Chester. South and west of the line Alfred was to be king, so that London was thus restored to the Saxons; to the north and east, where Guthrum was still to be in power, the land was known as the Danelagh. Also Guthrum became a Christian.

The Northmen in France. Meanwhile the same sort of thing was going on in France. Northmen as fierce as the Danes rowed up the French rivers, pillaged and burnt, and introduced a similar reign of terror. In this very year 885 they besieged Paris, and were with the utmost difficulty beaten off. In 911 their chief, Hrolf or Rollo, was acknowledged as Duke of Normandy by the very feeble so-called King of France, and became a Christian. France was at this time split into very many duchies and counties, each governed and defended by its lord according to his power, and "King of France" was an empty title.

What Alfred did for England. It was now proved that the Saxons could fight as well as ever they did, provided that they were well led. We find the Royal Family of Wessex gained enormous power as the saviour of the race. For nearly two hundred years to come whenever the Saxons

[1] Many an old campaign followed a line now marked by a railway. The reason is clear. An army follows the most convenient route along some valley or river, and an engineer surveying the ground for his railway chooses the same track for the same reasons. The G.W.R. goes from Reading up the valley of the Kennet past Newbury, then pulls up hill under the high downs past Edington, then down hill to Athelney.

had a powerful king they could hold their own, but naturally the king was more important than the nation. Therefore we want to know something about the character of Alfred as the greatest figure in history between the departure of the Romans and the coming of the Normans. After all, the simple fact is that Alfred knew how to lead. He could inspire his captains and his men with a feeling of devotion; they would follow him, obey him, and die for him. In particular he was a great organizer; he was the very first king, since the time when the earliest Saxons came by sea, to turn his attention to defence by sea, to create a Saxon navy, although he had to man it at first with mercenaries from Holland. He thus saved the coasts of Wessex from raids. On land he organized his army by calling up the countrymen to serve in relays; while one batch was tilling the fields, another was to fight, and then the batches changed places. Next he devoted himself to the education of his people, translated and himself wrote books, and summoned learned clergy from all over Europe to come to England. He drew up a code of law and started the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. He seems to have considered ignorance to be a worse enemy than the Dane. His work was partly useless, and he was deeply grieved that it was so hard to find good and well educated priests. After him the Anglo-Saxon race appears to have fallen back again into rustic ignorance.

A Century of Alfred's Descendants. After his death his son Edward the Elder, and his heroic daughter Ethelfleda who married the Alderman of the Mercians, set to work to reconquer the Danelagh across the dividing line. Here let us notice that Alfred and Edward made Mercia a district of Wessex, and there was never again a king of Mercia. Edward's son Athelstan continued the work, and also beat the Danes and their allies the Scots at Brunanburgh in the extreme north, near the Solway Firth[1]. Other

[1] Some historians say "at Bourne in Lincolnshire," or "at Bromsborough in Cheshire."

kings of the same family were able to govern more peacefully, such as Edgar the Peaceful of whom the story is told that he was rowed upon the river Dee by eight subject kings. The great minister at this date was Dunstan who came from the most important abbey of Wessex, namely Glastonbury in Somerset. Dunstan, like Alfred, devoted himself to the religious education of the people and to the improvement of their teachers, the monks and priests.

Saxon Tower, Earl's Barton; date perhaps 1050

As fast as Alfred and Edward and their successors reconquered Mercia and the Danelagh they divided the country into shires. The original kingdom of the West Saxons south of the Thames was already so divided. Now north of the Thames the name of each new shire was taken from its chief town. It is very likely that the Danes first made Huntingdon, for instance, a military centre with a permanent garrison, and Edward or Athelstan or Edgar made it the capital of a new shire where in case of another Danish invasion the Angles and Saxons could rally in self-

defence. Such a town was fortified with a wall of earth, unless perhaps the old Roman stone walls were still good, and was called a *burgh*. It is curious that now-a-days we think of a *borough* as a town which sends a member to Parliament, not as a fortress. The Saxons never were good at building, yet the walls of these burghs were strong enough for their purpose. The old small kingdoms, Sussex, Kent, Essex and the others were now simply shires

Norman Towers, Ely

under the kings of Wessex. The name of Mercia disappears in course of time, and Northumbria shrivels up into Northumberland.

The results of the rule of Wessex. These same kings must have spoken to the people whom they had saved from the Danes in some such way as this: "You allowed the Danes to conquer you because you had lost the art of fighting through your love of comfort and peaceful farming.

We, the kings of Wessex, have saved you from the Danes, and we demand a portion of your land as our reward. Over this we intend to place our trusty servants and soldiers, the *thegns*, who will be responsible for the defence of the country. You may call yourselves free Saxons and Angles, *churls* and *boors*, but you will have to regard the thegns as your leaders."

Thus during the centuries between Alfred and William the Conqueror we find the churls sinking ever lower and lower, nearer by degrees to actual serfdom. The churls[1] farm, and the thegns fight and carry on the government. Long before the arrival of William from Normandy, something like what we know as the Feudal System is being established here. There are still plenty of really free men, especially in the eastern shires. But the thegns get more and more power; they are the lords, "hlafords" or bread-distributors, and the king is their over-lord; they have under them their "men," their retainers and soldiers with whom they fight the king's battles, not at the head of the churls, but in place of the churls. They defend the burghs, and look after the roads and bridges.

There are now a variety of *motes* or assemblies, the mote of each village, the mote of each *hundred* or group of villages, the mote of each *shire* or group of hundreds, and finally the great assembly or *Witenagemote*. The aldermen and the king's thegns, the bishops and chief clergy, come to the meetings of the Witan or Wise Men. But the king is very strong, for it is he who gives unity to the nation. The thegns are the king's thegns, justice is the king's justice. "If I break your head, I break something which is much more important, namely the King's Peace."

Ethelred and the Great Collapse. At last even the House of Alfred was represented by a bad king, Ethelred

[1] Great would have been their surprise if they could have foreseen that the words "churl" and "boor" would come to mean "rough-mannered and ignorant fellows."

the Unready of unhappy memory, Ethelred who always took bad advice and did the wrong thing. Once more the Danes came over the sea. And now it was not bands of pirates fighting for themselves to win new lands, but the king of Denmark himself who wished to subject England to his own country. First Ethelred was foolish enough to buy the Danes off. He levied a tax of two shillings upon every hide of land, and this was called *danegeld*, that is gold for the Danes. Of course the Danes took it and then came again. In 1002 he married, as his second wife, Emma the daughter of Duke Richard of Normandy, an event of enormous importance in our history, as though he were looking for help to the Northmen, who had now been established in France for nearly a century. Then he did something both silly and wicked. He organized the same year a horrible massacre of the Danish inhabitants on St Brice's day, which goes by the name of *the massacre of St Brice*. King Sweyn of Denmark avenged his countrymen by a terribly cruel conquest. A treacherous knave, Edric Streona, who held the rank of alderman, did much harm by changing sides several times.

In the course of the war Sweyn died and was succeeded by his son Canute, and Ethelred by his son Edmund Ironside. The two new kings were great fighters, and Edmund seemed to be likely by his pluck and skill to make up for the harm done by his unready father. Edric at first supported him, and then once more played the traitor. Edmund lost a great battle, made a treaty with Canute, and mysteriously died; everybody suspected that he was murdered.

Canute joins England to Denmark. Canute was now undisputed king of England and Denmark and Norway (1017 to 1035). He was quite young, and was at first cruel and unscrupulous. It is said that "he had waded through blood to the throne." Suddenly he became a reformed character, was baptized, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and

governed very justly. He made two chief changes in England. He formed a big bodyguard, almost a small permanent army, of *housecarls*, armed with the great Danish battle-axe, and paid by regular levies of *danegeld*; thus this land-tax, levied by Ethelred to bribe the Danes, became a permanent tax to keep up the Danish guards. Secondly, he divided England into several great divisions, Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria, over which he set jarls. The Danish word *jarl* meant "captain," and it was now used instead of *alderman* to denote the ruler of one of the new big divisions. The Saxons pronounced it *earl*, and for the first time in our history we find earls as the greatest lords of the country next to the king. The most celebrated of the new earls was Godwin, who married Canute's cousin Gytha and was very loyal to him. Canute himself married Ethelred's widow, the Norman Emma. England was now merely one province of a great Danish empire.

On the death of Canute there was some trouble caused by his worthless sons, but in 1042 the son of Ethelred and Emma, who had been living in Normandy, was invited to England. This was Edward the Confessor.

Note to Third Edition

The route of the West Saxons, see p. 14. Bede, the early Christian writer, states that in his days Southampton was occupied by Jutes. Discoveries have been made of early heathen graves, containing ornaments of a West Saxon type, all along the course of the Thames. The seat of the first West Saxon bishop was at Dorchester on the Thames. Therefore it seems to be proved that this tribe entered Britain up the river, and that they conquered through Berkshire and Hampshire down to Southampton after Bede's death. Then in the A.S. Chronicle a story was made up that they had originally occupied Southampton from the sea.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

Edward the Confessor, 1042—1066.

King Edward and Earl Godwin. The country required a strong ruler, but Edward the Confessor was weak and unable to lead. Let him first have the praise that he merits; he founded the West Minster two miles to the west of London, though the present abbey which we all know so well was built by Henry III and his successors. But he was son of the Norman Emma and had been brought up in Normandy; consequently he introduced Norman favourites, and even appointed a Norman to be archbishop. He could not control the great earls whom Canute had created, Godwin of Wessex and Leofric of Mercia. The weakness of the King and the jealousies which existed between the lords, at a time when unity alone could save the country from invasion, gave an opportunity to William.

Godwin was a sincere patriot, but he was over-bearing and grasping. He was devoted to Wessex, and how could Leofric and Siward, or indeed any Mercian or Northumbrian, work well with him? Once he went into exile, but, coming back with his son Harold, he turned out the Norman archbishop, and Stigand was appointed. But unluckily this offended all devout churchmen, for there were rival popes at the time, and it was the unsuccessful "anti-pope" who sanctioned Stigand's appointment. Godwin's daughter Edith was already married to Edward. Harold was made Earl of East Anglia.

The Story of Harold Godwinson. On Godwin's death in 1053 Harold was obviously aiming at the crown. He made a new arrangement of the great earldoms. He himself took Wessex; East Anglia he gave to his brother Gurth, Northumbria to his brother Tostig. Leofric's grandson Edwin was allowed to retain Mercia. Waltheof, Siward's son, excluded from Northumbria, was given a new small earldom of Huntingdon. But the Northumbrians were an independent race, and objected to Tostig; so they turned him out, and made Morcar, Leofric's other grandson, their earl. Harold was not strong enough to dispute their choice.

During a pleasure cruise Harold was blown across to Normandy, fell into Duke William's power, and was not released till he swore on the bones of the most revered saints that he would support William's claim to the throne of England. Edward died; and Harold instantly seized the throne: none but his own partisans can have been present at the meeting of the Witan which nominally elected him King. He seized the throne rather than was chosen King. Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, was passed over. It was a bad omen for Harold's success that Stigand was still archbishop.

The Army of Harold of Wessex. Harold was not an "Englishman" in the modern sense of the word; we "Englishmen" are descended from both the conquerors and the conquered of Hastings. Harold was a Saxon, yet not of the blood royal of Alfred, and no one knew Godwin's ancestry; his mother was of blood royal, but Danish. His best troops, his standing army of house-carls, were a body originally raised by the Dane Canute; they were armed with great Danish battle-axes; a chronicle definitely tells us that he sent to Denmark for recruits. Thus it would seem that some at least of the soldiers, perhaps even the majority of them, were not heroic Saxons devoted to their Saxon King, but only Danish mercenaries. Besides the house-carls Harold could rely on his loyal brothers Gurth

and Leofwin, and on the thegns. But the worst of a military aristocracy such as that of the earls and thegns is just this; they served in place of, not at the head of, the national force of the country; when once they were beaten, there was no reserve left to take their place. Mere shire levies were an unwarlike rabble. Would Edwin and Morcar help Harold? He had allowed Morcar to take his own brother Tostig's earldom; he had married their sister so as to win them over. As far as we can judge, they seem to have done their best in the coming war. Meanwhile Tostig made alliance with Harold Hardraada of Norway, and was planning an invasion so as to win back Northumbria.

Duke William and his Army. Neither was William a "Frenchman" though he came from France. He had of course no right at all to the throne, even if the Confessor had named him his heir. But he was a masterful ruler. He had held his own in Normandy since his boyhood by sheer determination. The Normans were a turbulent and restless race, who retained all the piratical instincts of their Norwegian forefathers. Probably they had not intermarried much with the French during the 150 years they had been in Normandy since the settlement of Rollo; even to-day the peasant of Normandy is of a Scandinavian type, tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed, not at all like his French neighbours. They spoke French, however, and had adopted some French ideas. They refused to invade England as William's vassals, but simply took up arms as adventurers on condition that he would give them lands after the conquest. Other adventurers volunteered, from Flanders, Boulogne, Brittany, on the same terms. The flower of the army were horsemen, and wore mail shirts and open helmets; the foot included short-bow archers and spearmen. The religious sentiment of the age was in favour of the duke; Harold was a perjured man, and was supported by the usurper Stigand; so Pope Alexander sent a consecrated banner to the Norman army. As the

invader, William could afford to play a waiting game as long as the wind was unfavourable, and could cross when he chose; Harold was distracted by news that Tostig and Harold Hardraada of Norway were coming.

Two invasions to be faced. We must look at the dates carefully. Harold had had eight months for preparation, and must have laid his plans to resist both sets of enemies, but he knew not which to expect first. On September 8 he was forced to disband many of his southern levies for lack of provisions. The Norwegians, after all, landed first. Edwin and Morcar did their duty but were beaten near York, on September 20. Harold pushed north with the house-carls, and with such other troops that he still had or levied on the way; he offered to give back Northumbria to Tostig, but to Hardraada "only seven foot's room, or so much more as he may need, seeing that he is taller than other men." On September 25 he beat and slew them both at *Stamford Bridge*, eight miles east of York, on the Derwent. Two days later William sailed, and landed the next day at Pevensey. On October 13 Harold was posted on a ridge eight miles inland from *Hastings*. He had had a bare fortnight in which to march from Yorkshire to Sussex, and to raise reinforcements en route. Edwin and Morcar cannot be blamed, for they had had no time to rally their shattered forces.

The Battle of Hastings, October 14. When two armies of equal bravery meet, victory will go to the side which can best manœuvre and combine different methods of attack. Harold on a front of 600 yards put into line, at an estimate of ten ranks, some 6,000 men, of which perhaps 4,000 were house-carls or thegns and their retainers of good fighting material. They were all on foot and formed a shield-wall, shoulder to shoulder; therefore they were condemned to stand on the defensive for fear of breaking their ranks. William had perhaps 3,000 horse and 6,000 foot;—remember that he had landed his whole army in one

Part of the Bayeux tapestry; William is shown in the middle of the top line

day, and for an army of even that size with horses and baggage very many transports would be wanted. First he sent up the slope his archers, then his foot spearmen, lastly his horsemen. The axe-men easily beat them off. But the tug of war comes when charge succeeds charge, and when a counter-charge is dangerous. The Bretons on William's left broke, and some of Harold's men pursued; promptly William destroyed the pursuers by turning on them the cavalry of his centre. Then he planned the sham retreat of his right wing with the same results. Finally, with alternate volleys of arrows and rushes of horse, he broke even the house-carls. When Harold was killed by an arrow in his eye all was over. So mobility and combination triumphed, but only after hours of hard fighting.

As for disputed points; firstly, a poet-chronicler tells us that Harold erected a real wall of wood in front of his line; but he lived many years after the battle, and probably misunderstood the meaning of "shield-wall." The Bayeux tapestry shows no palisade. This famous work of art was made by Norman ladies in honour of Odo, the warrior-bishop of Bayeux, William's half-brother, and gives the whole story of Harold's voyage and captivity and oath as well as of the battle. As to the name: ought it to be the Battle of Senlac? One answers by another question: why give to a nameless uninhabited ridge in England a French name coined in later years? The battle of Waterloo was fought three miles from the village of Waterloo; so let us keep to the popular name of Hastings, the inhabited place nearest to the scene of Harold's defeat.

WILLIAM I, 1066—1087

The Great Survey for Domesday Book, 1086.

Harold, Gurth, and Leofwin were all dead, and England had no leader. William moved on Dover, then along Watling Street towards London, yet did not cross the Thames till he reached Wallingford; probably he made this detour so as to cut off Winchester from London. Now he received the submission of Stigand, and next of the Londoners. His track can be traced by the entries in Domesday Book, which record the damage done between Hastings and Berkhamsted, not wanton destruction, but damage due to the slaughter of animals and seizure of seed-corn to feed the Norman soldiers. He went through the form of being elected king by the surviving members of the Witan, and was crowned at Westminster by the Archbishop of York on Christmas day.

The last risings of Anglo-Saxons. There was yet a certain amount of resistance to be put down. But Edwin and Morcar had not the gift of leadership, and Waltheof submitted and married William's niece Judith. Devon and Mercia were easily conquered. The Danes naturally made an effort to secure a country which they had so often raided, and where so many of their kin still lived; William in reply in 1069 laid *Yorkshire* waste from end to end, so that they might have no base there for any future invasion. The most promising effort was in *The Isle of Ely* among the fens, where Hereward held out manfully till 1071. He was

a "man" of the Abbot of Peterborough, and has lived in romance as a popular Anglian hero. Edgar the Atheling fled to Malcolm of Scotland, who had married his sister Margaret, and afterwards to the Continent.

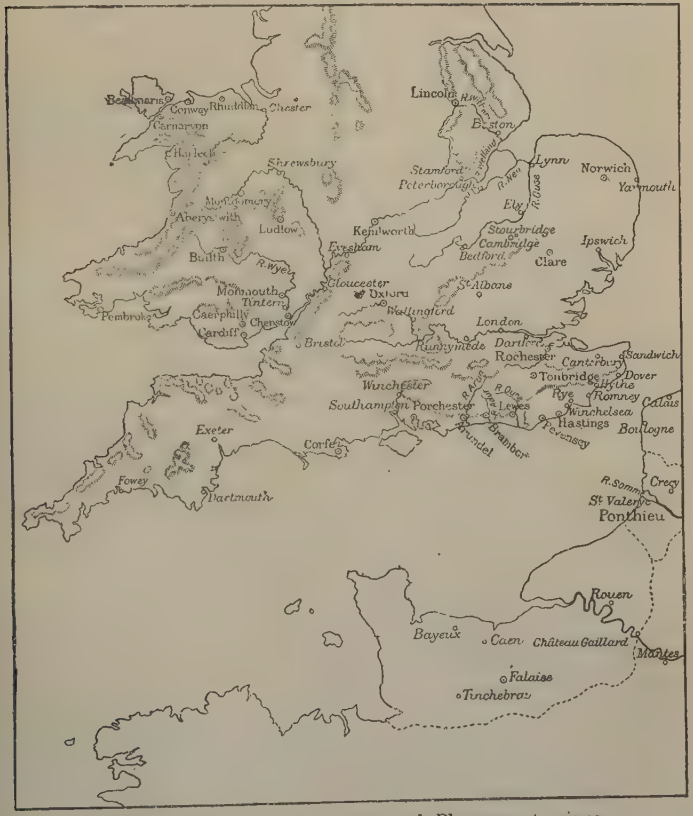
First rising of Norman Barons. Very soon it was seen that William would have as his worst enemies, neither Saxons nor Danes, but his own Normans. They had fought for him at Hastings to win lands in England; he gave them the lands, but let them understand clearly that he did not mean them to govern them as they wished. The Earls of Norfolk and Hereford were the first to defy him, and persuaded Waltheof to join them. They were easily crushed, but only Waltheof was executed. The Saxons regarded him as a martyr; the story ran that he had at once submitted to William, but that his wife Judith stirred her uncle against him.

Odo of Bayeux, warrior much more than bishop, was made Earl of Kent, and also deputy for William when William went home to Normandy. He was ambitious, and dared to raise troops in his own name in England for an expedition abroad. William arrested him, not as bishop, but as earl, and imprisoned him for the rest of the reign.

He also had trouble from his own son Robert, who was supported by Philip I of France. Once at *Gerberoi* in Normandy he was even unhorsed by Robert, and saved by Tokig the son of a loyal Saxon thegn.

The old acres and new masters. Domesday Book has a fascination for every keen lover of history and of England. The very words suggest romance. Here we have the record of the greatest event in our national life, of the crisis when England changed masters and thereby the foundations of the England of to-day were laid, the story of the turning-out of the Anglo-Saxon thegns and the redistribution of the lands among the adventurous newcomers from Normandy. Not another nation has such a land-register with such wealth of details. Pyramids and temples may be

thousands of years older, but tell only of dead and gone creeds and empires. Domesday Book is 820 years old, yet tells us of our own towns and villages, many of them grown and altered beyond recognition, many still quite small and



England and Wales: Norman and Plantagenet reigns

recalling old conditions, but all connected by a continuous history with the Conquest and the Saxon life beyond it. You can still see in the country many a mound-and-court

castle, many a parish church with some Saxon or Norman work, and at once Domesday Book is brought to mind. Any one must be strangely dull if he fails to understand the romance of such a church as that at Earl's Barton, in Northants, where bells still ring for worship from a Saxon tower, and the choir sing from Norman stalls. In other villages you may see a 14th or 15th century church, a manor-house, a mill or dove-cot, on the exact site of the older building, and a few of the old stones may be worked into the new. These humble villages speak to us of the days of the Conquest more eloquently than even the mighty castles and cathedrals, because they illustrate the national rustic life.

Domesday Book was compiled after a survey had been made in 1086 by the Conqueror's order. He wanted to know exactly who held each piece of land, whether the Norman or other foreigner to whom he had given it, or the man to whom it was sub-let, or the Saxon or Danish free-holder who perhaps still kept it; also how much danegeld he had the right to receive when he taxed the country for war. The surveyors recorded, county by county, the number of hides and acres, the corn lands and meadows; they gave the number of the male population of the villages, of the plough-teams at eight oxen to the team, of the pigs in the wood-land, and sometimes of the milch-kine and sheep; and lastly the value of the land at three dates, firstly "now," secondly at the time of allotment by William, and thirdly when King Edward reigned, T.R.E., tempore regis Edwardi,—the Confessor, it should be noticed, not Harold, who was a usurper in Norman eyes. The register for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex is bound up in a separate volume, known as the "little" Domesday. Of the six northern counties Yorkshire was mostly waste; Lancashire was not yet a county; Durham and Northumberland were independent under their Bishop; Cumberland and Westmorland, held by the Scots, were not registered.

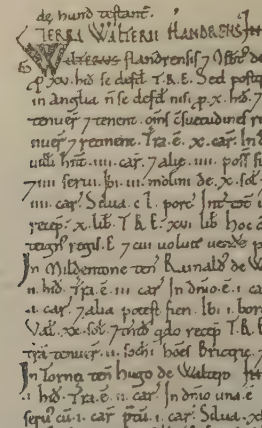
In each county is first recorded the royal land. William took for himself whatever the Saxon kings had held. He thus drew a large private income, and had places where he might stay when he made a royal progress through England. We read that there were 20 hides at Windsor, worth £15 both "now" and T.R.E. About half he sub-let; on the other half were 22 villeins and two bordars, who worked one plough-team for his benefit and ten teams for their own; there was one slave, a fish-pond worth 6*s.* 8*d.*, forty acres of meadow, wood-land for 50 pigs, &c.

Next we read the record of church-lands. "The Abbot of Peterborough holds the township of Peterborough. There are 8 hides, and enough land for 16 plough-teams; on the demesne are 5 teams, and 37 villeins and 8 bordars have eleven teams."

Then come the lands of the earls, the greater barons, the smaller barons, the poorer freeholders, down to the humblest man, provided that he holds his land directly from the king. Richard fitz Gilbert was a great baron and a cousin of William. He received 170 manors, and the head of his barony was at Clare in Suffolk; his descendants were Earls of Clare, and in time obtained the great Earldom of Gloucester. Eustace, Count of Boulogne, the most conspicuous of the non-Norman adventurers who fought at Hastings, received about 400 hides in all, mostly scattered throughout Essex, but some in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambs., Hunts., Beds., Herts., Kent, Surrey, Oxon., Somerset.

As a typical baron of medium importance we will take Walter the Fleming; his descendants can to-day trace their pedigree to him without a break, and this is an exceedingly rare thing. William gave to his family some 115 hides in all, which a Saxon thegn named Leofnoth used to hold, mostly in Beds. and Northants. "At Odell Walter holds of the King $5\frac{5}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ hides; there are 5 plough-teams, two hides in the demesne and two teams thereon, and 13 villeins with three teams: there are 5 bordars, 5 slaves, a mill worth

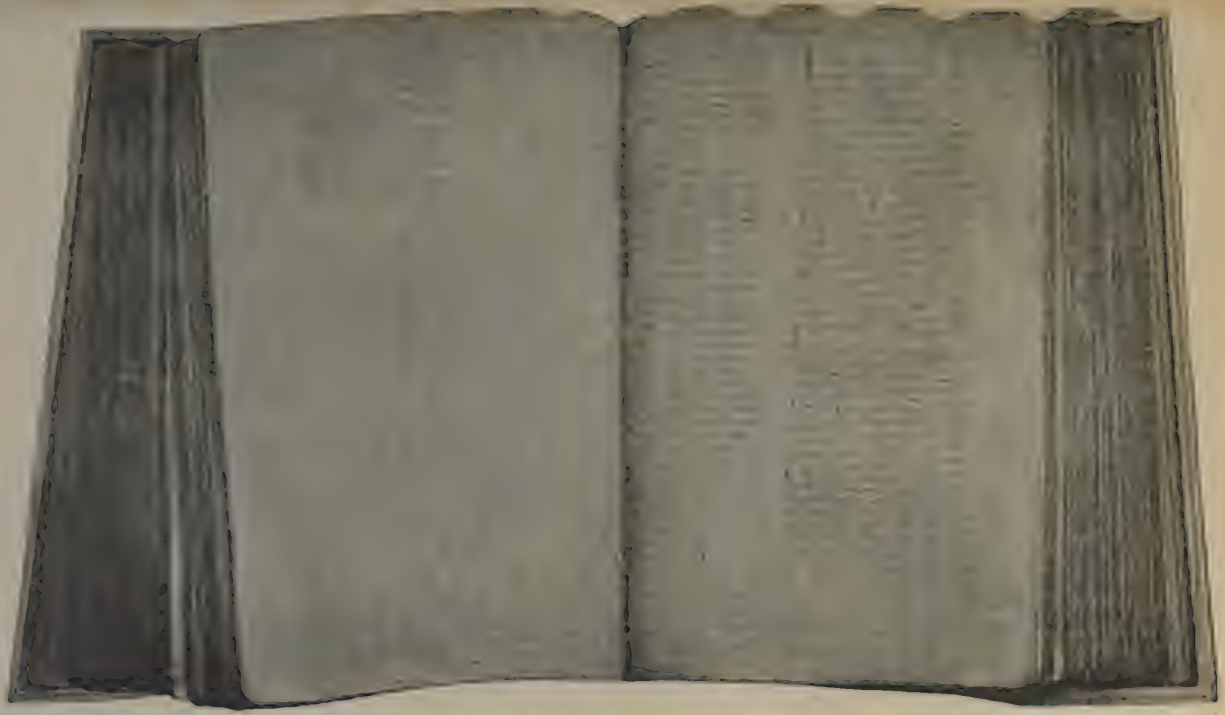
36*s.* 8*d.*, meadow, wood-land for 60 pigs. Value now £5, when allotted £8, T.R.E. £10. This manor King Edward's



Land of Walter the Fleming in the villages of Totternhoe, Milton Turvey, Wadehelle, and Podington

The second entry from the bottom reads: "In Wadehelle (Odell) tenet Walterus Flandrensis de rege v. hidas et unam virgatam et duas partes unius virgatæ. Terra est v. carucarum. In dominio duæ hidæ, et ibi sunt ii carucæ, et xiii villani cum iii carucis, &c."

thegn Leofnoth held, and one sokeman had half a hide of it freely." To complete the picture we add that another



Domesday Book lying open at the first page of Bedfordshire; list of landowners in left column, Terra Regis in right column

baron held $4\frac{7}{12}$ hides; therefore there were two manors and ten hides of land at Odell. Often enough the whole village is one manor under one lord, but not always and not here.

Now for a sub-tenant. "At Thurleigh Hugh holds of Walter the Fleming a manor of three hides, and Walter holds of the King. There are 7 plough-teams, two on the demesne, and 8 villeins have five; there are 12 bordars and 3 slaves; wood-land for 50 pigs. Value now £5, when allotted £3, T.R.E. £4. This manor King Edward's thegn Leofnoth held." In this village five other men held smaller pieces of land, and the total was five hides.

Let us reconstruct the story of this corner of England. In 1066 Leofnoth, a great man and loyal, raises his fighting force and goes off to serve Harold, perhaps both at Stamford and at Hastings. But the bulk of the churls and boors are left behind, for they are not trained soldiers. Rumours arrive of battles, for our villages are not far from the old Roman road between London and York. Later a portion of the Norman army passes this way on its march to Berkhamsted. At last appears a certain Fleming with his foreign mounted retainers. He informs the rustics that he is now their lord and that they must farm for him just as they had done for Leofnoth. He thinks that they look glum and sulky, and first he sets them to dig a deep oval ditch and throw up the earth inside to form a mound; a wooden palisade is run up, and a horse-shoe court with earth ramparts is added. Thus the Fleming and his foreigners can sleep safe at nights. He uses strange new words. He calls the land a *manor*, and himself the *lord of the manor*; his twenty manors in two counties are his *barony*, and Odell he makes the *head of the barony*. The churls he renames *villeins*, villagers; little does he think that centuries later Sam Weller, in ignorance of what the word once meant, will call poor greengrocer Harris "a desp'rate willin." The inferior boors are *bordars*, a term which has disappeared. These peasants find that they are

only a little nearer to serfdom than under Leofnoth. They have to put in so many days of unpaid compulsory labour every year on their lord's *demesne* land. They may not leave the manor, they have to grind their corn at his mill, they must pay certain dues; in Guernsey, where Norman customs have lasted, a small tax called "poulage" is still paid, evidently a relic of old days when a lord demanded so many hens from the men of his manor. They have to appear at his *manor-court*, where he or his steward will

A mound castle; reign of William I

settle their disputes and judge them for crimes and offences. They have to pay *danegeld*, when William imposes it from time to time, at 6*s.* on each hide; notice that the sum is three times greater than Ethelred's original danegeld. A *hide* now simply means a unit of land for paying this tax. Therefore £3 has to be collected from all the ten hides of Odell, and £1. 10*s.* from the five of Thurleigh. When the Fleming dies, his son Walter succeeds to the barony, and a younger son Hugh takes Thurleigh as under-tenant. In

1086 the king's surveyors come round, ask questions and write down the answers, spelling the names as best they can. And the result is that we can to-day read about these villages in the copy of Domesday Book now lying at the Record Office in London. One of Walter's descendants later on gets leave to build a stone castle on his mound at Odell, where to-day is a country-house overhanging the river Ouse. One of Hugh's descendants rebuilds the church at Thurleigh in late Norman style, and the belfry of it still stands; but here the mound had no stone work added to it. The family name of "Fleming" is dropped; the elder branch is "of Odell," and the younger branch slurring the first syllable call themselves Leighs or Lees.

The Peasants' lot under Norman rule. But the most important thing has yet to be explained. We have had the word *demesne*, dominium, lordship. It is used in two senses. Firstly, all land is held in demesne if it is not sub-let, as at Odell. Secondly, the portion of land farmed for the tenant or sub-tenant by the villeins and bordars without pay is in demesne, at Odell and Thurleigh, at Windsor and Peterborough, and everywhere else. Look again at the figures.

	Plough-teams		No. of Villeins	No. of Bordars	Value in 1066	Value when given	Value in 1086
	Dem.	Vill.					
Windsor	1	10	22	2	£15	£7½	£15
Peterborough	5	11	37	8	£1		£10
Odell	2	3	13	5	£10	£8	£5
Thurleigh	2	5	8	12	£4	£3	£5

Just think what these figures mean. The rustics at Windsor, whether the superior villeins or the inferior bordars, have only to work one-eleventh of their time upon the king's land without pay; ten-elevenths of their time and

Open Fields and Balks at Clothall, Herts.

ten-elevenths of the furlong strips are their own; such serfdom cannot be very onerous. The 45 rustics of the monks of Peterborough are not quite so well off, but eleven-sixteenths of the strips are theirs. Those of Odell farm two-fifths for Walter, and three-fifths for themselves; notice how the value has diminished. At Thurleigh we may guess that the eight villeins have half a team each, and the dozen bordars one team between them; they are very well off, and farm two-sevenths for Hugh, and five-sevenths for themselves; the value of the land has risen. Evidently Hugh is a good resident lord, and his rustics are prosperous under him.

> "A time there was ere England's griefs began
> When every rood of ground maintained its man."

Surely we can say that the Conquest has not done much harm. As long as the men can work their own strips and garner the corn for their own use, they can afford to put in some time on their lord's demesne strips without grumbling. They were probably just as much serfs in reality under Leofnoth and the other thegns. We can thus understand why they do not rebel against William. It is not cowardice, but a considerable degree of prosperity and comfort while they can still hold their beloved strips of ground, that makes them put up with their foreign lords. West Saxon king, Danish king, Norman king, what matters it to them who governs England, if they can farm in peace? They have to pay heavy danegeld, but it is only collected at intervals. They have to attend their lord's manor-court, but they are protected by the *custom of the manor*. Doubtless many a lord plays the petty tyrant when he can; yet it would not pay him to tyrannize so badly that the villeins cannot work well for him. Moreover it is to the king's advantage that the baronage should not be tyrannical. There is the king's officer in every county, the *sheriff*, just as in Saxon days; notice how this Saxon name has lived,

though of course every sheriff is now a Norman. There is still the shire-mote, or the county court.

Of course many years must yet go by before things settle down. The Anglo-Saxon population is despised by the Normans. If a corpse is discovered, the whole neighbourhood will be punished unless it can be proved to be the corpse of an Anglo-Saxon; this is the custom of proving "Englishry," and is obviously invented to prevent the sudden murder of Normans. But the Conqueror is just, even if strict. "Stark he was to men that withstood him. So harsh and cruel was he that none dared resist his will. But the good peace he made in the land, so that a man might fare over his realm with a bosom full of gold." In fact William governed. Such a government had not been seen here except in the palmiest days of the House of Alfred, or under Canute for a short time. Henry II a century later will finish his work. Judges will come round in the king's name, and will claim their right to try villeins for serious offences and take them out of the manor-court. Only such royal judges will have the power of gallows. When a villein may not be hanged except in the king's name, the peasantry will have little to complain of beyond certain compulsory work and certain trifling payments to the lord of the manor. Under the Edwards villeinage will begin to die out in spite of much bitter effort of the lords to re-impose it; by the time of the Wars of the Roses it will be practically dead.

Here let us picture the scene at a manor-court in Henry II's reign. In a neighbouring village in the same barony a piece of land has been unfairly seized. The lord of Odell and the lord of Thurleigh, descendants of Walter and Hugh, take their seats with due solemnity, investigate the case, and decide that the land must be redistributed among the villeins, to every one his fair share of furlong strips. The four oldest gaffers duly measure out the strips *cum pertica*, with the "rod, pole, or perch" of our arithmetic

books. Everyone is satisfied, except the monks of a distant priory, who have the right to a strip, but find that the four old men have awarded them the worst and stoniest ground!

The harm done by the Conquest. Has nobody then suffered by the Conquest? Certainly; the old aristocracy and many freeholders have suffered. The *thegns* disappear, either dead at Hastings or turned off their lands. Leofnoth, once the proud master of 100 hides, now is found holding one poor hide as Walter's sub-tenant. Very rarely do we find such a case as that of Tokig, whose father retains his land, and who lives to save William's life at Gerberoi. The *thegns*' "men" suffer. Lant was Leofnoth's "man," and in 1066 held $4\frac{3}{4}$ hides; in 1086 his widow and children are just keeping themselves alive on the king's alms on the three-quarters only, land worth 15*s*. T.R.E. and 3*s*. now, enough to be worked by a full team of oxen "but it is not there." This entry is as eloquent of misery as the Thurleigh entry is of prosperity. The small freeholders, the lesser thegns, the sokemen, all these suffer. If they are not killed in war or dead of starvation, they tend to disappear into the ranks of the villeins.

The two notorious crimes of William are the devastation of Yorkshire and the creation of *the New Forest* in Hampshire. He could be pitiless, when he thought there was political and military need for cruelty, as in Yorkshire. In the other case his motive was simply selfish pleasure. He loved the red deer more than the villeins; the chase was the sport of kings. We shudder at the thought of the fiendish severity of the forest-laws, the fines and the mutilation dealt out as punishment for poaching. Yet the actual harm done in Hampshire was slight; some 17,000 acres were thrown out of cultivation, poor and thin land that would barely repay the trouble of farming. On the other hand some land was already under cultivation in Sussex in 1086 which was waste in 1066.

Here we will take the census of the adult male popula-

tion as given us by Domesday Book. There were 1400 landed proprietors who held direct from the king; but when we deduct the small proprietors, only about 400 considerable landowners remain; 8000 sub-tenants, mostly Normans or other foreigners; 13,000 free men and 23,000 sokemen, thickest in the Danish eastern counties; 108,000 villeins, 88,000 bordars and other inferior rustics; 25,000 slaves, thickest in the western counties; 8000 townsmen, but the entries for the towns are incomplete; total, a little short of 300,000. But we have to allow for the northern counties; also for the Normans of lower rank, the personal retainers and soldiers of the barons, the traders and other settlers who came to the towns, and at a very early date all these must have intermarried with Saxons.

Character of the Norman baronage. We have said already that the positive benefit of the Conquest is that England has now a really strong central government. The incessant wars between Dane and Saxon have come to an end. Future wars at home will be between king and baronage, and as long as the king can hold his own, that is to say in all the early reigns except Stephen's, the villeins will farm in peace. His chief care was to repress the barons themselves, the very men who had won England for him and whom he had had to reward with lands. But he knew that in France the dukes and counts were too strong for the king; he himself as Duke of Normandy was that king's vassal in name, but practically independent. Therefore in England he was determined to be king indeed and the master of his barons. Sir Walter Scott has drawn much too strong a picture in *Ivanhoe*. The "bold bad baron" did exist, certainly; we shall soon tell of Robert of Bellême and Geoffrey of Mandeville, who had all the worst qualities of Front de Bœuf. But they only got their chance when the Crown was weak. Scott quotes a passage from the chronicle to show the misery of England under Norman rule, but it refers to the exceptional reign of Stephen. The

Williams and Henries really governed, and although doubtless there were many individual cases of petty tyranny, the kings prevented general tyranny.

William governed by "the Laws of the Confessor," meaning the general code of Anglo-Saxon customs which were in force under Edward. He retained the office of sheriff and the shire-mote; and he meant that his Norman sheriffs should be his servants to help him to govern. The Saxon ordeal by hot water or iron remained in force; the Norman ordeal by battle was introduced. The custom of proving "Englishry" was new. The enforcing of a common law could not be immediately perfect under William, and we must wait for the Henries to finish his work. But his intention was to be a law-loving king.

After noticing that William meant to repress the tyranny of Norman barons, next we have to trace the good that the Normans did. Gradually as the centuries went by they quickened the life of the country. Their brighter wits were as leaven to the sluggish Anglo-Saxon mass. Adventurous, energetic, daring, always wanting to do something, especially to fight, and above all quickwitted, they gave to England their virtues and their faults. Much of the energy we may now possess comes from our Norman, our stolidity from our Saxon ancestors. Love of adventure and conquest may be called piracy, but we, descended from both conquerors and conquered of Hastings, ought to be glad that the pirates won, for they were great leaders such as the Saxons wanted. Of course it was very long before the two races were finally blended together. The highest aristocracy never really coalesced with the conquered; they were by blood foreigners down to the Wars of the Roses, when they died out. But junior branches of the baronage, Normans of lesser mark, traders, townsmen, retainers, coalesced in course of time till there was a genuine English middle class and gentry of mixed blood. Chaucer, the first who wrote in English such as modern Englishmen can read

without great trouble, bears a Norman name, le Chausseur or the Hosier. Naturally we look to the ports and towns for this mixed middle class, for the rustics would remain purely Saxon for a longer time. Normans settled in the Cinque Ports, in London, in various little towns under the shelter of great castles, especially on the borders of Wales, where they lived in garrison under town-laws imported from Normandy. Town-life always quickens the wits, for men there see more movement as they trade and talk with each other.

How William controlled the Barons. William abolished the great earldoms which Canute created. Mercia and Wessex were never again political divisions. Earls or Counts under him were little more than superior barons. But he allowed special powers to the Earls of *Chester* and *Shrewsbury* so that they might fight the Welsh. We give to such earls a special name; they were *Counts Palatine*, meaning literally "Companions of the Palace." Shrewsbury ceased to have special powers when Henry I crushed Robert of Bellême. Chester, when the last earl died childless, became a royal county under Henry III. *Durham* was also a Palatine county under its Bishop; the old kingdom of Northumbria seems always to have retained some degree of independence, for it will be remembered how Harold had been unable to prevent the expulsion of Tostig; William allowed the Bishop of Durham to remain almost an independent prince so that he might defend the north from the Scots. Landowners in Chester and Durham held from earl or bishop, and not from the king. Very often a man was chosen to be Bishop of Durham because he was a good warrior rather than a good priest.

Elsewhere in England William gave to few barons any large portion of land in one place. He gave a manor here and another manor there, so that a barony was made up of many *manors scattered in several counties*, or in several

parts of the same county. Thus if a baron rebelled he found it difficult to collect together his forces. William did not invent this system; he found Leofnoth's lands scattered, and gave them scattered to the Fleming. Eustace of Boulogne, remember, had most of his manors in Essex and the rest in no less than ten counties. Here and there a baron received land all in one block.

When we talk of *the Feudal System* we may be thinking of one or other of two things, a system of land-holding, or a military system. In the first sense the Feudal System existed in some degree already in England; the Saxon kings had under them earls and thegns, the earls had their thegns and men, and the thegns had their men. *Nulle Terre sans Seigneur;* every lord has an overlord. So under William there were churchmen, earls, barons, and small freeholders, all holding directly from him as *tenants-in-chief*; they, if they liked, sub-let some of their manors to *sub-tenants*, as Walter to Hugh. But William went a step further. On Salisbury Plain in 1086 he held a great muster in expectation of a Danish invasion, and there he demanded an *oath of allegiance* to be taken to him as supreme overlord by all sub-tenants. If Walter were living in France and were to rebel, Hugh would naturally follow him against the king of France; but here in England Hugh, following Walter, would be a rebel against William because of this oath.

The Feudal System was also a method of raising troops. William introduced from Normandy the entirely new system of *Knight Service*. He said something of this sort: "I have given to you barons the lands as I promised. You will pay me rent not in money but in men. When I summon my host for war, you, Eustace, for your 400 hides of land will bring 120 horsemen; you, Walter, for your 115 hides will bring 30 horsemen. You will raise, mount, equip, feed, and pay them, just as you choose, according to whatever bargain you may make with your sub-tenants; that is your affair, and I only want the men. I expect churchmen, if tenants-

in-chief, to send me horsemen in the same way, the Abbot of Peterborough 60 and the Abbot of St Albans 6. They must be armed as at Hastings. But I shall not require their unpaid service for more than forty days in a year." A little explanation is required. The forty days seems to point to the suppression of a revolt in England or of a Danish raid; no war against the Welsh or Scots, much less against the French, could be finished within such a limit. The total of the army, if every baron and churchman raised his

Rochester Keep; reign of Henry I

full number, would come to about 6000. If you read of an army of 30,000 or 60,000 in some book, you may be sure that it is a mistake. The word used by William for "horseman" was *knight* or *miles*; in later days a knight was a superior horseman, dubbed and wearing gilt spurs, who was attended to war by three or four inferior horsemen, and therefore 200 knights would then mean an army of 1000 horsemen of all ranks. But William's 6000 require no

multiplication. The figures are not to be found in Domesday Book, which was a register of land only and not of soldiers.

When William required infantry he called out *the fyrd* or county militia. This was the old Saxon institution, but we have already seen how the thegns had served in the fyrd in place of, not at the head of, the general mass of the churls, though all free men were bound to serve when summoned. So now when the new Norman sheriffs were ordered to raise the fyrd in their counties, they summoned, not the villeins, but the smaller tenants-in-chief, the freeholders of small plots, the sokemen, whether Normans, or Saxons and Danes who had not been turned out, men who did not owe knight-service and were not rich enough to serve on horseback. We read that William I called out the East Anglian fyrd against Hereward. Rufus and Henry I raised similar levies against rebel barons, and the Archbishop of York in 1138 against the Scots.

No baron might raise a *castle* without the king's leave. Do not suppose that every ruined stone castle that you may see was erected immediately after 1066. There would not have been enough stone or stone-masons available. Both king and barons at first contented themselves with quickly built mounds of earth, timber towers, and outer courts of round or oval or horseshoe shape as the nature of the ground required. William himself wanted both masons and stones for his own use. He made a beginning with such mighty fortresses as the Tower of London, Corfe castle which was to guard the valuable Purbeck quarries in Dorset, Colchester castle which was planted in the centre of the old Roman town, and others. There were two types of Norman stone castles, one square and solid, the other round and hollow. The *square keeps* were mostly built on new sites, such as the three mentioned; they took a long time to finish, and most of them were built after William I's death. Sometimes a privileged baron was

The Tower of London; the central or "white" tower was begun by William I, outer walls by John and Henry III

allowed to build a square keep alongside his original mound, for instance Strongbow or his father at Chepstow. More often, when the earth of the mound had settled down and was strong enough to carry stone, some fifty years or so after Hastings, a baron fitted to it a hollow *shell-keep*, for instance the Earl of Clare at his family seat of Clare in Suffolk and at Tonbridge in Kent. Always mistrust guide-books. You may be told that Norman work is Saxon or even Roman. But the Saxons were not good builders, and their burghs were towns with earthen walls designed to be the rallying points of the whole neighbourhood. The mound-and-court castles, whether afterwards strengthened with shell-keeps or not, were too small to protect a district, but just large enough to protect a lord and his family from a sudden Saxon rising; they are very common in Normandy itself, all over England wherever Norman barons settled, and in Wales and Ireland where Normans conquered in the next two centuries. Just a few are Saxon of the Confessor's reign, when Norman ideas first started in England.

William did not demand danegeld from the barons and churchmen who owed him knight-service. Yet he got money from them in various ways. He had the right to demand *aids* on special occasions. When a baron died, the heir had to pay a *relief* before he could take the lands. If the heir were a minor, the king held the lands in *wardship* and enjoyed the revenue till the minor came of age; if the ward were a girl, he claimed the right to give her in *marriage* to some loyal or favourite noble. For instance, in the 13th century the heiress of Appleby and other wide lands in Westmorland and Yorkshire was given as ward to a quite minor baron, a Clifford of Herefordshire; Clifford's son married her, and thus an unimportant family was raised to a position of great influence and power in the north. These royal rights were all a matter of *custom*. We shall find the question coming up in the reigns of

St Alban's Abbey; tower, transept, and part of nave, made of Roman tiles collected from the ruins of Verulamium; nave and aisles later, especially the projecting buttresses; the foreground was occupied by the monks' cloister, of which the ornamental arcading can be seen

Rufus and Henry I, and again in Magna Carta days, when the king claims more money from the barons than custom allows.

William, the Church and Papacy. If William had difficulty with his barons, he was just as awkwardly situated as regards the Roman Church. His barons fought at Hastings for him, yet his chief aim after Hastings was to keep them in subjection. So he was Pope Alexander's champion against the perjured Harold and received from him a consecrated banner, yet *refused* afterwards to acknowledge *the overlordship of Rome.* Hildebrand, who became Pope Gregory VII, was a most powerful successor to the papal throne and tried to enforce its claims of overlordship against all the rulers of western and central Europe. William resisted successfully. He, and he only, should have the right to choose bishops and abbots in England who held their lands as tenants-in-chief. No papal commands should be obeyed in England without the king's sanction.

In the place of Stigand he chose Lanfranc for the see of Canterbury, a learned and pious man, equally great as priest and as statesman. Finding Lanfranc loyal he gave him a free hand to reform the Church. The clergy were forced to put away their wives; foreign priests were attracted to England, of a better class and more learning than the Saxons; the Norman abbots were more zealous and ruled the monks more strictly. Whatever we may think of the Roman Church of later days, the closer connection between Rome and England was for the good of the country at this date, while the king's will prevented excessive papal interference. But Lanfranc's chief reform was the institution of *clerical courts*; all clergy, of whatever rank and even if only in the lowest clerical orders, were tried in these courts, and not by the sheriffs in the county courts. Trouble arose in consequence of this change in the reign of Henry II.

The Norman cathedral is as prominent a mark of the Conquest as is the Norman castle. Massive square or round pillars, square or round capitals, round arches and small round-headed windows, are the chief features. A century at least was required to build a cathedral. At Ely you can see the south-western tower with its six stories

Tewkesbury Abbey; Norman pillars and arches; east window and roof later

each in a slightly different style as the work of a different generation. Norman architecture looks very strong, but is deceptive. The very strongest work has lasted to our time, but even to-day constant repairs and rebuilding are necessary, as at Peterborough and Winchester. The central Norman tower at Ely fell with a crash, and Lincoln

cathedral was entirely rebuilt. Of course money was required, for the medieval masons were free artists and had to be well paid. The great churches could not have been built by the bishops or monks without the aid of the Jewish money-lenders whom William brought over to England.

As the humble mound-castle to the Tower, so is the humble parish church to the proud cathedral. A belfry, a dark barn-like nave, a chancel, very plain but with some elaborate work to ornament the entrance-door or the chancel-arch, such is the usual pattern. Aisles and larger windows were added later, when some lord of the manor or even the villagers themselves could afford to add and rebuild. Often a Norman church was pulled down, and the ornamental stones of the door and chancel-arch rebuilt into the new 14th or 15th century fabric. In the case of cathedrals and parish churches alike rebuilding was necessary to give more air and more light.

Towards the end of his life William grew fat and coarse. In 1087 he fought Philip I of France, and captured and burnt the town of Mantes on the Seine. His horse stumbled on the hot ashes, and he was so badly shaken that he died of the effects. He had been a great ruler, stern and cruel to rebels, severe tax-gatherer, lover of the red deer, author of the forest-laws, yet promoter of law and order. We have described his work. He made the English nation by bringing together the two races, the Anglo-Saxon-Danish and the Norman. He made modern England possible.

Suggestions to students:

1. Make a list of titles and words, find the derivations and trace the changes in meanings, and draw your conclusions; e.g. earl, count, shire, county, sheriff, alderman, borough, villein.

2. Make a list of the villages and towns near your home, and classify them according to terminations; e.g. Scarborough and Whitby.

3. Make a list of common Norman and Saxon words; e.g. beef and ox. See *Ivanhoe*, chap. I.

4. Visit some village and look at the mound or stone castle, or manor-house, mill, dovecot, vestiges of the furlong strips; the latter, it may be, have not yet been ploughed up on some river-bank or hill-side.

Then get the Victoria County History, and read the Domesday entry of the village you have explored. Picture to yourself the old life.

Books: Green's *Short History*; Miss Bateson's *Medieval England*; Canon Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places*; Mr C. R. L. Fletcher's *Introductory History*; and Mr F. M. Stenton's *William the Conqueror*, where the results of Mr Round's study of D.B. are clearly given.

Note to Third Edition

The oft-mentioned strips were in Norman just as in Saxon days (see pp. 17 and 18), each man's set scattered over the common fields and intermixed with those of the other men and of the lord. A few can yet be seen in some English parishes (see p. 45), averaging 220 yards by 11 yards where the ground is flat; the furrow-long is the average distance that the oxen could go before having to pause and rest, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards = 1 pole or perch was probably made the unit of measurement as splitting the difference between half-ten and half-dozen.

A barony of several manors was also known as an *honour*, and the chief manor as the head of the honour.

Besides the "palatine" earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Durham (see p. 51), William also divided Sussex into five compact blocks of land, and awarded them to five barons so that they should defend the coast. These were the "rapes" of Hastings, Pevensey, Lewes, Bramber, and Arundel. Each baron appointed his own sheriff and had his own castle, and this shows William's confidence in their loyalty. But the descendants of some of them abused their powers and were not loyal to his successors; see pp. 63 and 69.

WILLIAM II, 1087—1100

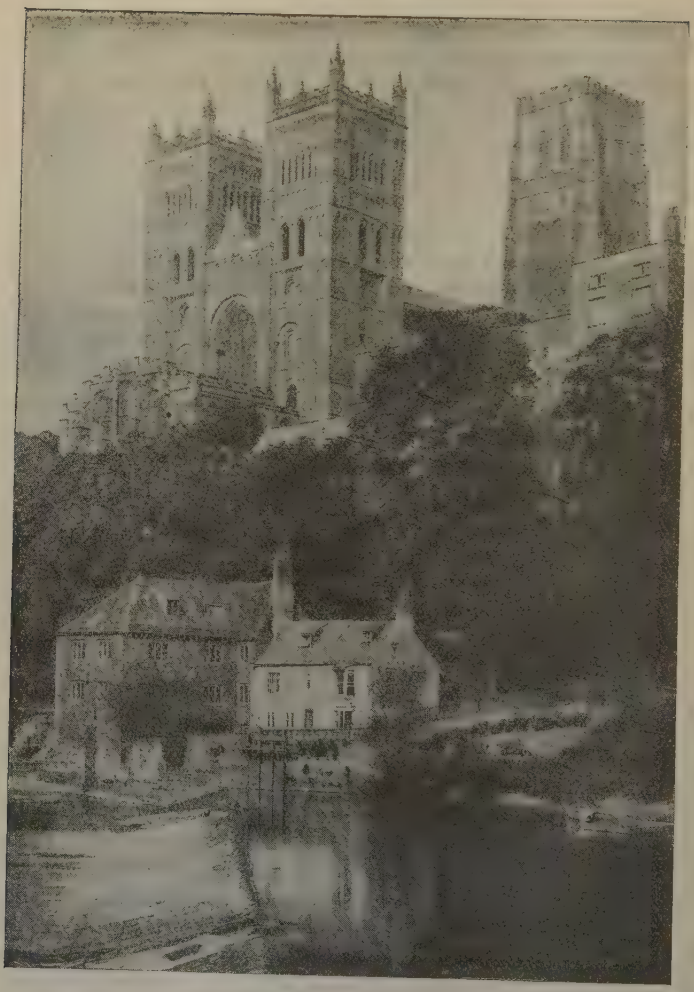
ANSELM ARCHBISHOP, 1093. FIRST CRUSADE, 1099.

The Rule of the Succession. This is the greatest difficulty in the history of any country. We can understand the rule, "Might is Right." We can understand the right of the first-born to succeed when sanctioned by the custom of many centuries; it may bring a weak or a bad man to the throne, but it prevents civil war. William I had been a mere conqueror, and had held both Duchy of Normandy and Kingdom of England by his strength of hand and mind. So he imposed his will upon Normandy and England, being a law unto himself. He decided that the eldest son should inherit Normandy, the ancestral possession, and the second should take England, the conquered possession. This rule applied to baronial families also. So the second son, William Rufus, of the red face and the red temper, became king of England. The old Anglo-Saxon Witenagemote had been superseded by *the Great Council* of the chief barons, who claimed the right to award the throne. Yet a strong heir—and Rufus, however vile his character, was at least strong—had no trouble in securing his election. Archbishop Lanfranc declared for him and crowned him.

Duke Robert and his supporters. The eldest son, Robert, Duke of Normandy, was supported by those barons who hoped that on the Conqueror's death they would be able to seize the power which he had denied them. Rufus was rough and masterful, Robert generous and easy-going.

At the head of these barons was Odo of Bayeux, whom the Conqueror had previously imprisoned and Rufus released; with him was Roger of Montgomery, a very rich noble, who was Earl of Shrewsbury and of Arundel, had seized lands on the borders of Wales and built a castle on the Severn which he named Montgomery after his Norman home, and also held vast estates in Normandy. It was very powerful barons such as these that had most resented the Conqueror's strict rule. But Lanfranc steadily supported Rufus; the lesser landowners and the Anglo-Saxon population rallied to him. Odo surrendered at Rochester and the revolt died away. Robert retained the Duchy, but Rufus secured the Kingdom. But the question now at stake was this: shall England and Normandy remain for ever apart, or shall one conquer or reconquer the other? The answer would depend upon the strength and fitness to rule of Rufus or Robert or their successors.

Strong and brutal government. Rufus had promised a great deal when he wanted help, but thought nothing of breaking his word when he was in power. The difference between the two Williams is this; the father was just, though he stood strongly upon his rights; the son was brutal and demanded more than his rights. The custom of the feudal system allowed *reliefs* and *wardship*. Rufus exacted excessive reliefs before he permitted an heir to take up his father's property; when there was an heiress, or the heir was a minor, he seized the property and revenue, then exacted heavy reliefs when the minor came of age, or made the girl marry against her will. He levied very heavy *danegeld*, and demanded it for their demesne lands even from those tenants-in-chief who claimed to be exempt on the ground that they owed knight-service. He adopted the trick of *keeping vacant* a bishopric or abbey on the death of the bishop or abbot, appropriating for himself the revenue of the lands. For instance, on Lanfranc's death he refused to appoint a successor for four years; then falling ill and



Durham Cathedral

LEWISHAM PUBLIC

fearing death he appointed in a panic the learned and pious Anselm. His minister and adviser in all his extortions was Ranulf Flambard, whom he made Bishop of Durham. The memorials of this worldly priest, the exact opposite of Anselm, are the Norman work of Durham Cathedral and of Christ Church Abbey in Hampshire; such a powerful and rich favourite could afford to build strong and beautiful work which has lasted to our day.

Scotland and South Wales. The most important political event of the reign was the occupation of Cumberland, from which the Scots were driven, followed by the fortification of Carlisle as a military centre against Scottish raids. On the other side of England William I had already erected the New Castle on the Tyne, and Flambard made Durham very strong. Thus both roads from Scotland were guarded. King Malcolm did homage to Rufus, as previously to William I, yet not full feudal homage. He was killed at Alnwick in one of his raids into Northumberland.

William I, it will be remembered, had conferred special powers on the Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury. Rufus followed the same policy. He gave permission to various barons to invade South Wales; whatever land they could win by the sword they might keep as their own. It was a cheap method of conquering Wales; at the same time it gave to the Normans plenty of the fighting and adventure which were so dear to their hearts, and diverted their warlike energies away from England where the king did not wish them to be too strong for him. Lands thus conquered were called *marches*, meaning literally "borders"; the conquering Normans were known as *marcher lords*. Norman castles immediately sprang up in South Wales, but a full century of vigorous warfare was required before the Norman marchers subdued the coast from Chepstow on the Wye to Pembroke. Robert Fitz Hamon conquered Glamorgan; his heiress married Henry I's illegitimate son Robert Earl of Gloucester, and we shall find the lordship of Glamorgan

very important later. Meanwhile the Earls of Chester frequently fought the North Welsh, but made no permanent conquests.

Anselm and the Investitures. Pope after pope followed the example of Hildebrand and tried to gain for Rome power over England. Rufus resisted as keenly as ever his father had done. In particular the choice of bishops and abbots by the king was offensive to the Church. This is the question of the *investitures*; should the king, or the pope and archbishop, invest a new bishop, that is, confer on him his sacred vestments, the ring and the staff which were the symbols of the holy office? Another point was: which of two rival popes should be acknowledged in England? Rufus claimed that no pope could be recognized here at all unless with his consent. Anselm, for all his unworldly piety and quiet temper, possessed the true courage which quiet men often show. He stood up manfully for the freedom of the Church against a domineering king. Yet opposition to Rufus proved useless, and Anselm retired to Rome. We admire Anselm's quiet pluck and devotion to the Church, and we acknowledge that Rufus was impious and brutal. Still, Anselm wished to exalt the power of the Pope in England, and it may be said that William was in some degree patriotic in resisting this endeavour.

The Crusades begin: Jerusalem captured. Now we have the period of the Crusades. The same popes who wished to interfere so much in English politics also showed their zeal for the Church by preaching a holy war. The Arabs, the original followers of the prophet Mohammed, had seized Jerusalem as far back as 637, but had allowed Christians to visit the sacred buildings. Now a fierce tribe of Turks, Mohammedans by conversion, had conquered the city and persecuted pilgrims. This gave a good chance to an ambitious pope such as Hildebrand. He did not live to see the first crusade, but prepared the way for it. Pope Urban and Peter the Hermit appealed to Christian Europe.

The first attempts, without organization and caused by momentary excitement, naturally ended in failure. But some Norman and French lords—for no crowned monarchs took part—worked their way through overland to Constantinople, and finally took *Jerusalem* in 1099. Godfrey of Bouillon was elected the first Christian King of Jerusalem: several other kingdoms were set up, as at Antioch and Tyre. The two celebrated orders of military monks, the Knights of the Temple and the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, were founded. An outlet for energy and enthusiasm was thus given to many a western lord, and there was a constant supply of such men to reinforce the crusaders. But little keenness was shown in England. The first crusade only touches our history because Robert of Normandy joined it, and was thus absent from England when his brother Rufus died, mysteriously shot by an arrow in the New Forest.

HENRY I, 1100—1135

1106. Tinchebrai; Compromise with Anselm.

Rufus had reigned by his father's will and had died childless. Was his elder or his younger brother to succeed? There was no rule to which to refer. Therefore naturally the stronger man, being moreover on the spot, had the advantage. Robert was on his way home from Palestine; Henry promptly hurried off to Winchester, secured the royal treasure, was chosen by a handful of the barons who behaved as though they represented the whole of the Great Council, and was crowned at Westminster within a week of Rufus' death. Evidently he won the crown by his own readiness and quickness rather than by the votes of his few supporters. Anselm being in exile and the Archbishop of York being ill, the ceremony was performed by the Bishop of London.

The Charter, a bid for popularity. Henry was as strong as his father and less brutal than his brother. He was well educated, and was called Beauclerc, "the Scholar." He could be cruel and tyrannical, and also faithless, but was clever enough to begin his reign by a solemn promise to give up Rufus' evil ways. He issued *a charter*, a parchment with the royal seal attached, by which he promised that the Church should be free and no bishoprics kept vacant; that reliefs and other sums of money should be demanded only according to custom, and fairness; that land held by

knight-service should not be taxed for danegeld. This means that he bound himself to govern like the Conqueror, strictly and according to his royal rights, but not with the extravagant tyranny of Rufus. It has been said[1] of him that he was only "playing to the gallery," making a bid for support and popularity, because Robert was expected to be home soon. Indeed Robert reached Normandy that same autumn, just too late to have any chance; he had a knack of just failing. When Henry was secure on his throne he broke every promise he had made.

He married Edith of Scotland, daughter of Margaret and Malcolm, but her name was changed to Maud; Margaret was sister of Edgar the Atheling, so that the new Queen was of the blood royal of Alfred, and this pleased the Anglo-Saxons. Also he pleased the nation by imprisoning Flambard.

A typical bad dangerous Baron. Of course there was a rising of the barons who wished to gain power, and had as their excuse that they preferred Robert. When Roger of Montgomery, who had opposed Rufus, died, his English lands went to his second son Hugh, his Norman lands to his elder son Robert. Hugh died childless. Therefore the question was the same for this baronial family as for the kingdom; should Hugh be succeeded by the elder or the third brother? The elder's claim was admitted. He held the English earldoms of Shrewsbury and Arundel, the Welsh marches of Montgomery, his father's lands in Normandy, his mother's in Bellême, and his wife's in Ponthieu; Bellême and Ponthieu were independent lordships adjoining Normandy. He is always known as Robert of Bellême. He has left behind an evil memory as a cool, calm, and outrageously cruel baron of the worst type. Having thus as elder brother all these lands on both sides of the sea, he naturally supported the claim of Robert of Normandy to be ruler on both sides of the sea.

[1] Mr J. Horace Round.

Duke Robert crossed to England in 1101, and Henry marched to meet him, making frantic appeals and promises to catch the loyalty of the barons. After all, Robert came to terms and returned to Normandy. Then Henry turned on the other Robert, him of Bellême, captured his castles, stripped him of his earldoms, and exiled him with all his family. The people applauded the king's victory and decision. The lands were divided, Shrewsbury ceased to be a "palatine" earldom, Montgomery became a royal town, and no baron was suffered to take this Robert's place for fear he should become strong enough to dictate to his king.

Conquest of Normandy from England. The two Roberts plotted in Normandy against Henry, but he was beforehand with them, and took the offensive by invading Normandy. At *Tinchebrai* in 1106 he was easily victorious, and the Kingdom and the Duchy were united for yet another century. Thus, just forty years after Hastings, England conquered and annexed Normandy; to the Anglo-Saxon levies who fought at Tinchebrai it seemed to be a revenge for Hastings. Henry kept his brother Robert a prisoner for very many years, yet treated him well; he first pardoned Robert of Bellême, then imprisoned him; another rebel he blinded.

There was yet more fighting in France. Robert had a son, William Clito; Louis VI of France, a stronger king than his ancestors, who was bent on raising the power of his crown, supported him. There was war; Henry won another victory at *Brémule* in 1119, and clung fast to Normandy. In the following year, Henry's only son, William, was wrecked in the "White Ship" and drowned. Who then should succeed to the united Kingdom and Duchy? Henry had a daughter Maud or Matilda, who first married the Emperor. The Emperor was supposed to be the successor of the Roman Cæsars, but at this time he had all his land and power in Germany. Secondly she married

Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, a country lying south-west of Normandy, with Maine between them as a buffer state; the Angevins were thorough Frenchmen and bitter enemies of the Normans. Henry made his barons swear to accept Maud after his death in spite of this national hatred. From her first husband she is known as the Empress Maud.

Bargain between Henry and Anselm. The question of the investitures had still to be settled. The Church still continued to object to a worldly king nominating bishops, while Henry objected to an outside power interfering with his royal rights; religious and national claims conflicted. A bargain was made between Henry and Anselm, who returned from exile. Any new bishop or abbot was to be chosen by the cathedral clergy or monks; there was frequently a monastery attached to a cathedral, where the monks conducted the church services, while the bishop ruled the diocese. The bishop or abbot, when thus chosen, was to receive the *ring and staff* of office from the archbishop, but to do *homage* to the king in the King's Court for the land attached to the bishopric or the abbey. Thus the Church was free, yet the king secured the really important thing, the homage. Such bargains, where each claimant both gives and takes, remain in force just so long as each is sensible and content. When in some future reign some strong pope becomes ambitious, the bargain will be broken.

In this reign there was a movement to improve and restore the old vigour of monastic life. Stephen Harding, an Englishman, was Abbot of Cîteaux in Burgundy; his monks lived under very severe rules, bound to poverty and the services of the church. *The Cistercians*, as they were called, founded a great many abbeys in England, chiefly on deserted moorlands; they were good farmers, worked hard, introduced sheep from Spain, and thus greatly assisted to increase the wealth of the nation. Many of their celebrated houses were in Yorkshire, where they did much to repopulate the land devastated by the Conqueror. Lands were given

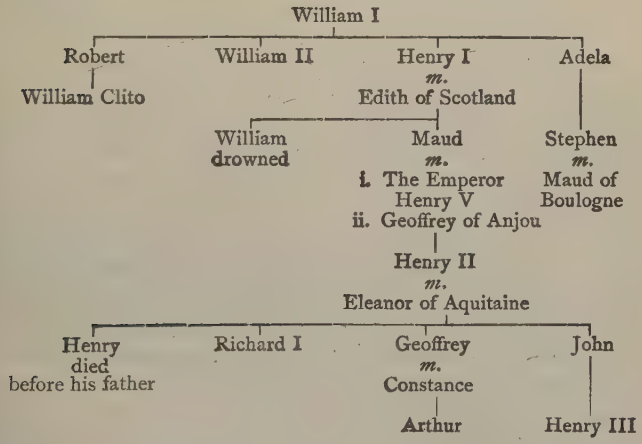
Tintern Abbey

them by many a worldly baron for the good of his soul, and the abbeys grew rich though the individual monks were poor. But they were quite outside the national life; they owed no obedience to the bishops, but only to the pope, to whom they sent much money. There was jealousy between the "regular" monks who lived by strict rules and the "secular" clergy of the parish parsonages.

A reign of Law and Justice. We have seen that Henry began his reign with promises to his barons, yet he broke them. His taxation was very heavy. Yet he was hard chiefly on the great barons whom it was necessary to keep down. He was a lover of order and law, and was called the Lion of Justice. His chief title to fame is that he organized *The King's Court*, the Curia Regis, to be the supreme law-court of the land; its place to-day is held by the House of Lords, which is our final Court of Appeal[1]. Also he sent out his judges to make circuits, and hold sittings or assizes in the various counties; they were called *Itinerant Judges*, and were to help the sheriffs, or it may be to override unjust sheriffs, so that the King's Law might be supreme. This system was much needed, because throughout England there were many varying customs, West Saxon customs, Mercian customs, Danish customs, in the different districts; the Norman barons as lords of their manors might be tyrannical in their manor-courts; the sheriffs might fail to do their duty and be in league with tyrannical barons. Henry's judges were his royal servants. They were terribly severe; hanging, quartering, mutilation, branding, blinding, as well as the old Saxon ordeal by fire or hot water, sound unpleasant to modern ears. But better the severest King's Law than no law at all; evil abuses can be abolished in time, and then the Law itself remains and is good. Henry also organized *The Court of Exchequer*, which looked after the royal moneys. The great officers of

[1] Only a few lords learned in the law sit and vote when it is thus acting as a Court.

the Crown were the Justiciar, or Lord Chief Justice, who acted as a sort of viceroy when the king was absent, the Treasurer, the Chancellor, and the other judges and sheriffs. Henry chose them from among the less powerful baronial families; he created *an official baronage*, as it were, a baronage of his servants who relied on his favour and would be loyal to him, so as to counterbalance the great land-owning barons. "Good man he was, and there was great awe of him; in his day no man dared to harm another."



THE ANARCHY, 1135—1154

Battle of the Standard, 1138.

When Henry died, the value of a strong government was at once seen, also the need of a fixed rule of succession. Election to a throne may seem to be just and natural; the Great Council, as the Witan before them, may claim the right to elect. But some one is offended, the electors hope to gain profit and to be more important than the elected, civil war results, and from civil war comes anarchy. Rufus and Henry I had seized the throne as strong men; Maud was weak. Not only did the barons object to her as a woman; they also hated Anjou, her husband's country. They saw their chance to assert their importance, and they chose Stephen, son of Adela, and grandson of the Conqueror. Curiously enough, he had an elder brother, who, however, gave way to him. He held large estates in England through his wife Maud, heiress of Eustace of Boulogne; to avoid confusion we call her Queen Maud. He had himself taken the oath of allegiance, as demanded by Henry, to support the Empress Maud. It has been said of him, in the words of the historian Tacitus which were used of an old Roman Emperor, "*Imperii capax nisi imperasset*"; if he had never been king, everyone would have thought him just the right man to have been king. He was elected by the citizens of London, as well as by some of the barons, and was acknowledged by the pope.

Geoffrey of Anjou was not very useful to his wife the Empress. He wished to subdue Normandy to Anjou, and this set the Normans against her. But she had an ally in King David of Scotland, her uncle; Robert of Gloucester, her half-brother, was a powerful supporter, being lord of the wide lands of Gloucester and of the march of Glamorgan.

Civil War and Feudal Ruffianism. The facts of the civil war are not at all interesting. In 1138 David invaded England; the northerners cared little enough for Stephen, but they were not going to let their land be plundered by Scots. They turned out to battle under the Archbishop of York, and set up the sacred banners of St Peter of York, St Wilfred of Ripon, and St John of Beverley; they were mostly infantry, spears and short-bows intermingled. They beat the Scots near *Northallerton* on the old Roman road, where now runs the main line of the N.E.R. Their victory is known as the *Battle of the Standard.*

Stephen was taken prisoner at *Lincoln* in 1141. Queen Maud continued to fight, and in her turn captured Robert of Gloucester. Stephen and Gloucester were then exchanged. The Empress Maud was besieged in Oxford, and only saved herself by escaping by night over the snow, where her white dress is said to have made her invisible to her enemies.

A prominent self-seeking baron of the period was Geoffrey of Mandeville. He sold his services to Stephen for an earldom, deserted to Maud and was by her made Constable of the Tower, went over a second time to Stephen, and a second time to Maud, and on each occasion received some new honour. He was at the head of a band of terrible ruffians, and was notorious for his cruelty; he was finally excommunicated and was killed in a fight. His career is only of interest because he was a typical scoundrel, gaining power because two rivals had to bribe scoundrels. There were others like him, and a cry went up to heaven against the wicked Normans. It is therefore in reading the

abominations of this reign, the cruelties and the tortures for the extortion of money, the erection of private castles, the bad coinage issued by the barons from their private mints, that we can appreciate the services to England of the strong kings, the Williams and the Henry who preceded, and the Henry who came after Stephen. The misery of the country was exceptional during this anarchy, but many people still think that all the Normans in all the reigns were just as bad; whereas such monsters of iniquity could only exist under a weak elected king.

Geoffrey of Anjou was able in 1144 to reduce Rouen, and the Empress Maud, at last despairing of beating Stephen, went to join him there. Geoffrey died shortly after. Their son Henry was very young, but he was strong and ready to take up the cause. Headed by Archbishop Theobald, the Church and most of the barons forced upon Stephen *the Treaty of Wallingford* in 1153; Stephen, whose eldest son had recently died, was to continue to reign, but Henry of Anjou was to succeed him. Next year Stephen died, and the unhappy reign came to an end.

HENRY II, 1154—1189

1164. The Constitutions of Clarendon.
1174. End of the Barons' War, Capture of William the Lion.

Henry II was king of *England* by the compact made at Wallingford; Duke of *Normandy* by right of his mother Maud, and lord of Maine by the conquest by William I; Count of *Anjou* and Touraine through his father Geoffrey, though he had to fight his younger brother, another Geoffrey, before he could secure his power; lastly, Duke of *Aquitaine* and Poitou by his wife Eleanor, the divorced wife of the king of France. He was thus a European monarch, far stronger than the French king, whose real sway only extended through the Ile de France, a small ring of territory round Paris. Yet for Normandy and Anjou he was in name that king's vassal. Of course each part of his possessions was connected with the rest only by the personal rule of himself, just as the Georges held Great Britain and Hanover, but each country had a separate government.

Henry's personal work and character. His first duty to England was to restore order, to take back into his own hands the royal lands that Stephen had given to his supporters as bribes, to pull down the many castles that had been built with or without Stephen's leave, and to see that the villeins could plough and reap in peace. Henry was just the man for the work. He was prodigiously

strong of body, not very tall, but thickset and bull-necked; no exertion could tire him, and he would ride all day long till his followers were dropping with utter fatigue. He would rush from country to country, from shire to shire, to see that all his officials were doing their duty and that law was administered as it should be. In general it may be said that he renewed and perfected his grandfather's work; he created afresh, after the civil war, the official baronage, the body of royal judges and servants, by means of whom Henry I had restrained the feudal baronage. His rule has been called "the Angevin Conquest" in contrast to William's Norman Conquest of England. No doubt the proudest barons regarded him as an outsider from Anjou, but his work was but the continuation of the strong rule of the three genuine Normans. On the other side we must put his passionate nature; he could be furiously angry, even to the verge of apoplexy. This, his worst trait, he bequeathed to his son John, who writhed on the ground and bit the rushes on the floor after being forced to sign the Great Charter. His gift of leadership he bequeathed to Richard.

His right-hand man in the work of law and order was at first Thomas Becket, who was brought to his notice by Theobald. The Church, as seen by what was done at Wallingford, was entirely in favour of order. Becket was the son of a Norman trader in London; he was made Chancellor, and was the king's bosom friend.

Reforms: Scutage, and the Jury System. One of Henry's earliest expeditions was against Toulouse, to which his wife laid claim. This war in the extreme south of France made him reform the system of war-taxation. Danegeld was finally given up. Henry I had allowed vassals to pay *scutage* or shield-money instead of sending horsemen according to their due service as tenants-in-chief; Henry II systematised the payment of scutage. Danegeld had been paid at the rate of so many shillings on every hide of land; scutage was imposed at a mark (13*s.* 4*d.*) or two

marks in place of each horseman. Two marks equal forty eightpences, and eightpence was the daily wage of a hired horseman. Therefore a baron owing the service of 20 horsemen for the feudal forty days might pay $20 \times 40 \times 8d$. As no war could be finished within that absurd limit, another system was also coming into vogue; a baron might bring to the king's army fewer horsemen than he owed, and would then serve for a longer period. With the scutage money the king hired mercenaries. But his chief barons usually preferred to serve in person. If every one had paid, the king would have got some £10,000; as a matter of fact, some paid and some fought, and he obtained from £2500 to £5000. Notice that the word "horseman" or "knight" or "miles" is used here in the sense in which William I originally used it, as a common trooper, not as a "dubbed knight." *Gifts* and *aids*, dona and auxilia, were raised for war from the shires and towns; rents were raised on royal lands. Thus the war-tax came to some £8000 on an average from all sources. It was demanded seven times in the reign[1].

Henry raised ordinary revenue by other methods. The Jews were regarded as the king's chattels, and he got from them some £3000 yearly. We need not pity them very much, for they lent money at high rates of interest and were hated in proportion. The Forest Laws were still very severe; besides loss of life or limb for actual poaching on the deer, fines were inflicted for any kind of trespass. Then the profits of the courts of justice in the towns were "farmed" out; sums of money were paid to the king for city rights; but as the towns prospered by good government and peace they could afford to pay for the support of the king. The ordinary peace revenue of the crown is calculated to have come to £20,000 yearly.

The law-courts of the land were reorganized. The Curia Regis, the King's Court, was divided; the king's

[1] Sir James Ramsay, *The Angevin Empire.*

advisers in matters of state were separated from the highest judges; these latter were formed into the *Court of the King's Bench*, which had to decide the most important law cases that came up for the king's own hearing.

The Itinerant Judges still went on circuit; Henry II gave them additional powers by the *Assize of Clarendon*. This means that the king, sitting in state at Clarendon in Wiltshire, issued a royal edict to give powers to the royal judges who went round to groups of counties. They were to have sole power over cases of murder and theft; the lords of the manor might not in their manor-courts hang their own villeins for these serious crimes. The king thus protected the peasant by sending judges who had the sole right to hang him. Criminals were to be "presented" by *juries* of men living in the neighbourhood; then they had to undergo the ordeal, and were punished if deemed guilty. One more step was necessary, but it was not taken till the reign of John, wonderful to relate; then, by the action of the Church, the ordeal was condemned, and a jury was to decide whether a man was really guilty.

By *the Great Assize* the system of trial by jury was extended to cases about property. If men disputed as to who owned a piece of land, the rivals were no longer to fight each other in the ordeal by combat, but a jury in the presence of a royal judge was to decide on oath. Towns over which great barons had feudal rights did not gain such privileges so early; in the celebrated case of the town of Leicester, the earl, thinking it foolish that two kinsmen should fight to decide their claim to some land, granted trial by jury on condition that 3*d.* was paid to him yearly for each house in the High Street that had a gable.

The question of the Clerical Courts. Becket was made Archbishop in 1162, and immediately was seen a wonderful change in him. From being a statesman and man of the world of gay manners, he became austere; his devotion to the king he changed to devotion to the Church.

The chief question at issue was whether clergymen accused of criminal offences should be tried in the King's Courts, or in the Church Courts as established by Lanfranc. It seems strange to us that the crimes of the clergy should be so prominent, but the word "clergy" covered all those in any way connected with the Church or belonging to the lowest clerical orders. Becket contended that a cleric convicted of crime in a clerical court should be degraded, and only for a second offence might he be tried in an ordinary court. But Pope Alexander, not wishing to quarrel with Henry, gave Becket but weak support. In 1164 Henry issued *the Constitutions of Clarendon* by which he asserted his claim over all clergy even for first offences. Becket proudly defied both king and nobles; when shouts of "Traitor" were raised against him, he retorted, "Were I a knight, my sword should answer that foul taunt." But he fled the country, and it seemed as if Henry had won his object. At last he returned. But then a new trouble arose. Henry had his son crowned during his own lifetime by the Archbishop of York; Becket excommunicated the bishops who attended the ceremony, for Canterbury had been insulted. Then Henry let drop some angry words. Some knights who heard them, without waiting for further orders, crossed the sea, hastened to Canterbury, and murdered Becket in his own cathedral (1170). All Christendom was aghast, and put the blame on the king, whose words had been taken too literally. Becket murdered had a greater power than Becket living. Henry gave up the Constitutions, restored the clerical courts, and even did public penance. Becket was canonized as a saint; pilgrims flocked to Canterbury, and deserting the high altar laid their offerings on the shrine of St Thomas. Chaucer two centuries later called him "the holy blissful martyr," and at his tomb miracles were said to have been done.

English Pope and Irish Church. Adrian IV, otherwise Nicholas Breakspear, is the only Englishman who has

occupied the see of St Peter. Quite early in the reign he had authorized Henry to invade Ireland so as to bring the Irish Church into communion with Rome. In the dark ages when the Angles and Saxons were heathens you must remember how Irish missionaries crossed to Scotland and the north of England; also during all the period of Danish invasions and war they still preached in western Europe, while the power of Rome was growing. Now Rome was strong, and the Irish Church less energetic. It was natural that Adrian should wish to have the honour of uniting Ireland to Rome through his influence over England.

Ireland had a high king and subordinate kings and chieftains. There was much quarrelling and war. In the coast towns, such as Dublin and Waterford, were Danish settlers in whose hands was all the trade. Opposite to them in South Wales were the Norman lords marchers, as adventurous and ready for war as any of their ancestors. Diarmid or Dermot of Leinster appealed for help to Richard of Clare, Earl of Pembroke and Chepstow, otherwise known as Strongbow, and Henry carelessly gave him permission to invade Ireland on the strength of Adrian's permission. We cannot with any degree of truth talk of an English conquest of Ireland; Strongbow's comrades and men were Normans and Welsh, both of them war-loving races, and it was just such a private adventure as their souls loved.

In 1169 a sort of advanced guard went over to help Dermot, who cared neither about him nor about the question of the Irish Church; in 1170 Strongbow followed. Some 300 Norman mailed horse and 2000 Welsh foot went with them, but these were the champion long-bow archers of South Wales. Their historian, Gerald Barry, himself of mixed Norman and Welsh blood, describes with enthusiasm how Irish and Danes went down in battle before the combined horse and archers. Indeed the war is chiefly important for the tactics employed. Had it not been fought in an obscure corner of Europe, had not the supply

of good Welsh bowmen been limited, the victories won by such a combination must have attracted more attention. But a century had yet to go by before Edward I would train his Englishmen in imitation of the South Welsh to use a genuine long-bow, and nearly two centuries before the triumphs of Crecy and Poitiers.

Henry was rendered anxious by Strongbow's success. He went over himself and demanded homage from the conquerors for the lands that they had won; they were to do knight-service to him, and a Justiciar was appointed to govern for him. No king could afford to let his barons hold land in a new country not subject to his control. The whole of Ireland was not conquered, but only a part of the south and east. In the track of the original Clares and Fitzgeralds followed de Burghs or Burkes, Lacys, Butlers, Wellesleys, Beresfords, Talbots, and it is said of them that they became more Irish than the Irish themselves. From these Norman-Irish families have come some of our greatest orators, statesmen, soldiers, and sailors.

Revolts of Henry's barons and sons. Strong rule and systematic taxation goaded the baronage into war. They had helped Henry against Becket, but now that he was under a cloud because of the murder they seized their chance to rebel. His sons also were masterful and quarrelsome, and wanted him to give them independent duchies in France. William the Lion of Scotland and Louis VII of France were not slow to join the combination. It was so formidable a crisis that Henry considered it to be a judgment for Becket's murder, for which he therefore did penance. Yet he was quickly successful. His Justiciar and other officials with shire-levies put down the barons in England; William was luckily captured in a fog near Alnwick in Northumberland; Louis was beaten back from Rouen (1173 and 1174).

Two results followed. The king of Scotland regained his freedom by *the Treaty of Falaise*, by which he agreed

to do full feudal homage to Henry; no such full homage had ever before been done to any king of England. Secondly, in 1181 Henry issued *the Assize of Arms*, by which all free men were ordered to have ready by them arms and armour, whether horseman's or infantryman's equipment, in proportion to their wealth, and these were to be inspected at regular intervals. In fact Henry had been so much pleased by the loyalty of the mass of the nation to him that he felt able to trust the shire-levies; therefore he wished them to be always ready to serve in a national army.

To the end of his life his sons gave him much trouble, helped by the next king of France, Philip the August; Henry's wife Eleanor also helped them. On one occasion he was only saved from being captured by Richard by the intervention of William the Marshal. It is claimed for this fine and loyal noble that to save his king he actually charged and unhorsed Cœur de Lion himself. Yet even such devotion could not save Henry from sorrow. In 1189 he died in bitterness of heart after hearing that his youngest, whom strangely enough he loved, even the vile John, was in league against him. This was the end of a stormy life, which had yet done in 35 years incalculable good to the country. "The credit of the reforms of this reign must undoubtedly be ascribed to Henry himself. His enemies taunted him with them, as being simply dictated by the wish to fill his pocket. His ends may have been selfish, but, as has been remarked of his grandfather, his selfish ends coincided with the wants of the nation[1]."

Before he died news had arrived of Saladin's capture of Jerusalem. A crusade was being preached, and a property-tax called the Saladin tithe was being levied both in France and in England.

[1] Sir James Ramsay.

RICHARD I, 1189—1199

Capture of Acre, and Battle of Arsuf, 1191.

The ever famous Richard Cœur de Lion succeeded. The eldest brother, whose coronation had angered Becket, had died before their father. Richard had been a bad son to Henry II, and an ally of King Philip; he lived to experience treachery from the same Philip, and also from his own brother John. But at first the crusade was all important and Philip was his ally.

A contrast: Saladin and Cœur de Lion. Salah-ed-dīn, "the Honour of the Faith," known to us all as Saladin, is one of the most picturesque figures in history. By nationality he was a Kurd. His father had risen from being a captain of mercenaries to hold an important government; Saladin rose higher, and became Sultan of Egypt and real ruler of all the Mohammedan countries up to the Euphrates, though the Caliph at Baghdad was nominal head of the faith. The life-work of Saladin was to unite Egyptians and Syrians, Arabs and Turks, whose jealousies had allowed the Christians to take Jerusalem in 1099. Now the Mohammedans were united, the Christians disunited. He destroyed an army at Hittin[1] in Galilee, ten miles from Nazareth, in 1187; Jerusalem fell to him at once, and the Christians who yet survived only held a few coast towns and some strong castles inland. All historians of the East confess that Scott has given a splendidly true picture of

[1] See map on p. 549.

Saladin in *The Talisman*. He was generous, noble-minded, merciful, and honourable, in an age when only too often greed and faithlessness stained the name of the crusaders. But, to make his novel more exciting, Scott invented the scene at the oasis, the tournament, the personal meeting between Richard and Saladin, etc. On the other hand Richard was not only a daring fighter who delighted in downright smashing blows; he was a very cool and clever general. Yet Scott's picture of Richard cleaving a solid iron bar with one sweep of his two-handed sword, while Saladin with his sharp scimitar ripped a silk cushion, gives us a good idea of the difference between the two men. They were types of West and East, force and dexterity.

Successes in the Third Crusade. Richard raised all the money that he could, by the Saladin tithe, by sale of his rights over Scotland for £10,000, by putting up to auction all sorts of offices and even the posts of sheriffs and chancellor, and by persecuting the Jews. He trusted that his Justiciar would keep England quiet, and pretended to believe in the loyalty of John. Even if England and Normandy had to be left kingless, he held it to be absolutely necessary that so great a warrior should go to the East to stem the tide of Saladin's conquests. He started in June, 1190, crossed France, and embarking at Marseilles sailed by way of Sicily and Cyprus. Just a year later he reached *Acre*, where he found his ally Philip of France besieging the place, though he was in turn besieged by Saladin. Richard at once put new energy into the war; in spite of heat and sickness he pressed the siege by mines and engines, and Acre fell in July. Then occurred the celebrated quarrel, and Philip turned home to France.

Richard led the remaining host southwards along the coast, a slow and careful march. The men were strung out in a long line, baggage and infantry next to the sea, heavy cavalry next to them, and an outer screen of crossbowmen and other foot. Saladin's light horse and mounted bowmen

swarmed on the flank and in the rear. On a plain near *Arsuf*, between Acre and Jaffa, Richard planned to lure on the enemy to attack in a mass; when they swarmed in on the Christian's flank so thickly and closely that they could not easily ride off again, the outer screen opened its ranks and the heavy knights charged; man to man, and horse to horse, the Christians were much the superior and rode through the infidels. Saladin fled and confessed to defeat. The army marched on to Jaffa.

Hospitaller and Templar: the Hospitaller's armour has the extra pieces which came into use a little before 1300.

Final failure, jealousies and return. Twice did Richard try to push through to Jerusalem, in December, 1191 and June, 1192; twice he turned back in bitterness, and engaged in the defence of Jaffa. Next October he quitted Palestine. The reasons of his failure are easy to see. The jealousy which existed between Philip and Richard, between the Christians already in Palestine and these new crusaders who had come to help them, a jealousy

so strongly depicted by Scott, wrecked the third crusade; on the other hand the sultan's will was law to all the races of Mohammedans. The heat, dust, insects, difficulty of finding water, and consequent sickness of both man and horse, told very heavy against the westerners who seemed unable to adapt themselves to the climate, but rode heavy horses and kept to their heavy armour. Against the swarms of light Turks and Arabs they won their one victory when the sea was on their flank, but for a march or for a siege inland they were powerless. Richard knew what he was doing when he turned back from Jerusalem as it was just in sight; had he even captured the holy city, he would probably have been cut off and destroyed after the capture. The sole result of the crusade was that a few coast towns and impregnable inland castles held out for another century. Saladin died next year.

Crusader from Temple Church; typical armour between A.D. 1100 and 1300 (roughly)

In course of time the Mohammedans learnt that it was more to their advantage to allow pilgrims to go to Jerusalem, and that Christian traders would benefit them. The little republic of Venice, once the home of fisherfolk and salt-workers, became the city of merchant princes; she secured the trade of Asia, and particularly that of India which came through the Red Sea or over the desert, and from Venice commerce entered by the old Roman roads and by rivers into the heart of Germany, and finally reached as far as Flanders. This commerce lasted to the sixteenth century. Other crusades followed, but are of little importance in English history.

The last five years of Richard. Leopold of Austria captured Richard as he was making his way home overland

Château Gaillard

from the Adriatic. A ransom of £100,000 was demanded, but he was released when an instalment was paid. He

reached England March, 1194. John had conspired against him, and his treachery had to be overlooked. Everybody knows the state of affairs as depicted in *Ivanhoe*, the vile brother, the selfish barons and mercenaries, the persecuted Jews, the bowmen of Sherwood. Scott has however made too strong a picture of the hatred between Norman and Saxon. Robin Hood may have lived then, yet the ballads connect him with an Edward, not with Richard; he is not mentioned in literature before 1380, and the long-bow was not yet the favourite English weapon. It is clear that the heart of the nation was sound and opposed to John. But the demand for the ransom-money and the taxation for a new war against Philip of France, coming on top of the severe reign of Henry, were producing a new spirit which, when John succeeded, was destined to secure the Great Charter. Even to Richard was money successfully refused on one occasion.

Richard fairly held his own against Philip. But he found himself obliged to construct for the defence of Normandy the mighty *Château Gaillard*, the Saucy Castle. Situated on a high tongue of land falling precipitously to the Seine, with an outer triangle pointing S.E., a rough rectangle towards the N.W., a great interior oval, and within that again a massive keep, while a fortified little town lay below, the new castle argued fear of France. Indeed, under Philip, France was strong beyond all comparison with the resources she had when William I lived. Richard was finally killed at Chaluz in central France, where he had expected to find some treasure. Owing to his long absences he had done little for England. But it would be wrong to sneer at him because he was so little in England. His life's work was to check Saladin and to give to the remaining Christian kingdoms in Palestine another century of existence.

JOHN, 1199—1216

Loss of Normandy, 1204. Bouvines, 1214. The Great Charter, 1215.

We always associate together the worst king and the greatest national crisis of England. Lord Macaulay has put it very strongly: "The talents and even the virtues of her first six French kings were a curse to her. The follies and vices of her seventh were her salvation." Such a statement is partly correct, but quite misleading. The previous kings gave to England a firm government, and they kept in check the fierce Norman barons. Now the opposite danger was to be feared, complete royal tyranny; the united barons wrung from John the Charter, which they would have had neither excuse nor opportunity to demand from any predecessor. A greater writer than Macaulay understands our constitution better; it rests, says Edmund Burke, "upon a nice equipoise." The triumph of the barons over John made Parliament possible; king and baronage now balanced each other and kept the ship of state on an even keel. Yet fifty years had to pass before Earl Simon's, and eighty before King Edward's Model Parliament; in 1215 the barons were working for their own profit, not for vague rights and liberties of all classes of unborn Englishmen. Therefore, had their triumph been complete, they would merely have substituted baronial tyranny for royal tyranny, and our knowledge of Stephen's reign tells us what that means.

Another power has to be considered, the People. As the centuries have gone by, this power has helped to maintain the nice equipoise; men have argued "The barons won their rights from John, and why should not we win ours from king and aristocracy combined?"

Philip wins Normandy for France. Every event of John's reign leads up to the Charter. It was, of course, nothing new for the barons to resist a king and his methods of taxation, but each event now seems to help them towards successful resistance. First, John had been chosen in place of Arthur, son of Geoffrey, who was the middle brother between Richard and himself; here was an excuse for Philip to interfere as Arthur's champion. Then he repudiated his wife, offending the barons in England; he married a lady betrothed to a Poitevin noble, offending his barons abroad. When in war he captured Arthur and the boy disappeared, there was more than a suspicion of foul play. Philip invaded Normandy with every chance of success, for the Normans themselves were ready to join him. *Château Gaillard* was besieged and held out for eight months; John thought it impregnable and made no effort to send relief till too late; constant mining, followed by an assault which starvation had made the garrison too weak to resist, led to its fall. Then all Normandy accepted Philip, as did Maine and Anjou and Poitou: of William I's possessions only *the Channel Islands*, of Henry II's additions only *Gascony* remained to the king of England.

The result was that the barons of Norman birth in England had to make a definite choice. Should they cling to their lands in England as subjects of John, or to their lands in Normandy as subjects of Philip? Those who decided for England may be regarded henceforth as the English aristocracy, foreigners indeed by blood, but living in the island and having all their property and interests in the island, in the midst of an Anglo-Saxon peasantry and a middle class of mixed Anglo-Saxon and

Norman blood. From 1204 we may speak definitely of an English nation. On the other side France gained under Philip a greater increase of territory than under any previous king, and Normandy was henceforward constantly loyal to France.

Mr John Richard Green writes thus of the fall of *Château Gaillard*. "From its dark donjon and broken walls we see not merely the pleasant vale of Seine but the sedgy flats of our own *Runnymede*." The loss of Normandy meant the fall of John's despotic power.

John's defiance of Pope Innocent. Now comes the period of the great struggle in the Church. Innocent III was one of the long line of very powerful popes who, like Hildebrand 150 years earlier, aimed at nothing less than overlordship over the crowned heads of western and central Europe. There was a dispute as to who should be Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent put aside other candidates and ordered John to receive Stephen Langton. The king refused. The Pope laid England under an interdict, then under the greater excommunication; for the space of some five years no church services were celebrated here. Then Innocent ordered Philip to invade England as the servant of the Church. Suddenly in 1213 John gave way, accepted Stephen Langton, agreed to hold England as a fief of the Roman Papacy, and paid 1000 marks yearly as Rome's vassal. No surrender could be more complete; and it seemed to be clever. The Pope's allies became John's allies; Philip was now ordered to abstain from invasion. England was quite ready for self-defence. Shire-levies were called out; ships from the Cinque Ports destroyed Philip's transports, and won the first national English sea-victory off *Damme* in Flanders, where the canal from Bruges entered the sea. Even so Harold might have stopped William, and Drake did stop the Armada in 1587, by seeking the enemy on his own coast.

It was in the days of Innocent III that occurred the first

attack upon the doctrine of Rome. The earliest reformers, or heretics, were called the Albigensians from the little town of Albi in South France. Innocent, intent on crushing heresy as well as demanding homage from England, declared a crusade and called upon the warriors of France and Normandy. Under Simon de Montfort they soon destroyed the Albigensians.

Great papal alliance against France. Philip must have felt himself in a very undignified position. First ordered by Innocent to fight John, and then suddenly ordered to desist, he became the bitter enemy of the Papacy. John saw his chance, and made common cause with Philip's enemies, the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne who opposed the progress of the power of France, and the Emperor Otto of the House of Brunswick who was his nephew. There was to be a double invasion of France; John would enter Poitou, and his allies would attack from Flanders. But John met with national opposition at home. His barons had been willing to defend England, but refused to serve over the sea. Their argument was this: "Your ancestor William gave lands in England to our ancestors when he was both King of England and Duke of Normandy; you have lost Normandy, and therefore we owe military service to you for England alone." One cannot say that the barons had law on their side; feudal knight-service was a matter of custom, and this question had never come up before. But they were strong enough to win their point and did not serve over the sea. Curiously enough Stephen Langton supported them against John. One would have expected him to support John against them, being now the vassal and obedient servant of Rome. But Langton was an Englishman before he was a priest. He saw that the barons had their chance to defy John when he was so eager to fight Philip. So he produced the charter of Henry I, and called upon them to demand another and stronger charter from John.

John was forced to rely upon mercenaries for his invasion of Poitou and failed completely. His allies of Flanders and Boulogne, Otto and his Germans, and the Earl of Salisbury with English mercenaries, met Philip and a national French army at *Bouvines* in 1214. The French gained a complete victory. Studied in their history, Bouvines is the first national victory of a new France. Studied in German history, it marks the overthrow of the House of Brunswick and the triumph of Otto's rival for the Empire. But in our eyes it is of chief importance because it marks the last step in John's road to ruin. His attempt to get revenge on Philip and regain Normandy has failed, his mercenaries have been cut to pieces, his allies beaten, and his money spent. He returns to England baffled and conquered. The Great Charter has been won.

Chief clauses of the Great Charter. Signed at Runnymede, June 15, 1215.

1. The Church shall be free, and have its rights and liberties undiminished.

2. Reliefs shall be fixed at £100 for an earl or baron, at £5 for a knight.

3—8. Wards under age, heiresses, and widows of tenants-in-chief, shall be fairly treated.

12. No scutage or aid shall be levied except with the consent of the Common Council of the realm; except the three regular aids, for the redeeming of the king's body, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marrying of his eldest daughter.

13. London and other cities shall enjoy their liberties.

14. The greater prelates and barons shall be summoned to the Council by special writ; lesser tenants-in-chief by general writ addressed to the sheriffs.

39. No free man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseized (= have his property confiscated), outlawed, or exiled, except by legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

Runnymede

40. To no man will we sell, deny, or delay justice.

41. All merchants may have security to come and go.

50. Mercenaries shall be dismissed.

56—59. Llewelyn of Wales and Alexander of Scotland shall have justice done them.

61. A committee of twenty-five barons shall be appointed to maintain the charter.

62. All ill will, indignation, and rancour have been put away and pardoned.

The first point to be noticed is that we find here very little that is new; Henry I's charter is amplified, the clauses tell in clear language what must be done, but no extravagant new powers, except in clause 61, are demanded by the barons. A great French historian, M. Guizot, says that the Charter is a landmark in our history because it satisfied the old reasonable claims of the barons as against the royal tyranny from William I downwards. Had they forced John to give them something quite new, it would have been valueless. Yet two clauses are new, the 12th and the 61st, in the sense that they contain the seeds of future power; absolute control of the taxation and of the general government of the country is foreshadowed. So M. Guizot makes a second point; the Charter is a landmark because it was confirmed and re-confirmed time after time by Henry III and Edward I. It thus has been the one solid foundation of all the future liberties of the country. Let us vary our metaphor: the English constitution is like a tree; it has its roots in the past, the years before 1215, and it has grown since 1215 by putting out new branches; the solid trunk is the Great Charter.

The barons were only fighting for their own advantage. Almost every clause defines something that the king is to do for them, or promise to them. Yet, they gave an example to other classes. The last half of the 14th clause contains one of the two seeds from which has grown our House of Commons. Charles I's Parliament, when discussing the

Petition of Right, referred to and quoted the Great Charter; in fact the two main clauses of the Petition were the 12th and 39th of the Great Charter brought up to date. Therefore the barons were winning, though they knew it not, the liberties of unborn Englishmen of other classes. But at the moment and for the next few centuries the Charter simply strengthened the hands of the barons.

The notice of Llewelyn the Great is important. He had gained very much power as an ally of the barons, and had re-conquered much march land. He was only lord of Snowdon or Prince of North Wales, but he made his power felt over all Wales. Civil war in England helped him in every way.

Danger of a French king of England. The barons were quite united in 1215. Yet the royal power as bequeathed by Henry II was still so great that John instantly set to work to destroy the Charter, and indeed he nearly succeeded. Innocent at once supported him and released him from his oath to observe it. The papal policy was to dictate to the king as a vassal and to get as much as possible out of him, but to allow no one else to dictate to him. John raised new mercenaries that very autumn. The barons in despair applied to Louis, son of Philip of France, and husband of John's niece Blanche. The very thought of a French king over here shocks us. Yet to the men of 1215, whose ancestors had served Saxon and Danish, Norman and Angevin kings, within two centuries, it was hardly shocking. Now such men as Pembroke, who supported John, not as John but as king, stood out as patriots. Soon it was seen that Louis was looking after his own interests, not the liberties of those whom he had been invited to save. John did just the right thing at the right moment. When the worst evils of war were threatening he died at Newark-on-Trent, October 1216. He had lost a part of his army and his treasure in the high tide of the Wash, and was carried off by apoplexy, due to passion and gluttony.

CENTRAL

HENRY III, 1216—1272

The Provisions of Oxford, 1258. Simon de Montfort's Model Parliament, 1265.

Relieved of the burden of John's presence, William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, could summon round him the patriots. He had been a steady loyalist under Henry II and Richard as well as under John. His wealth and title had come to him through his wife Isabella, Strongbow's daughter; the marshalship came from his father, but he was the first to make the office important. His great merit is that he saved England from Louis. The child Henry III was not responsible for John's misdeeds. So Pembroke was made Regent, and rallied round him the Church as represented by the papal legate and by Stephen Langton, and more earls and barons than might have been expected. He re-issued the Charter, yet without the famous 12th clause.

Expulsion of Louis from England. In 1217 Pembroke attacked and beat Louis in the streets of *Lincoln*. A pushing and selfish baron, the Earl of Chester, bribed by a grant of the lands of Lancaster, helped Pembroke; so did Falkes de Bréauté, John's leader of mercenaries, chiefly foreign mounted crossbowmen. Meanwhile Hubert de Burgh, who had held Dover for John, with a fleet of forty ships from the Cinque Ports met a French fleet of eighty which were bringing reinforcements to Louis, got the wind behind him, bore down and routed them off *Sandwich*. Thereupon Louis came to terms and evacuated the country.

Dover Castle; Hubert de Burgh, Constable for John and Henry III

Pembroke died in 1219, his life's work done. He left six sons; each in turn was earl and marshal, each in turn died childless, so that the end of the family was pathetic.

Restoration of the power of the Crown. Hubert de Burgh now held the chief place as Justiciar. He was a strong man and made many enemies, but he followed Pembroke's policy of "England for the English." The various offices of the kingdom, the royal lands and castles which had been handed over by John to his favourites, had to be regained. The Earl of Chester, besides his own earldom and Lancaster, held the castles of Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth, and was sheriff of three counties. Falkes had Oxford, Hertford, and Bedford, and was sheriff of six counties. They had fought well at Lincoln, but could not be allowed to use royal property as their own. In 1224 William de Bréauté, Falkes' brother, laid violent hands at Dunstable on one of the royal judges who had ordered restitution of certain lands, and shut him up in Bedford castle. Hubert made this a test case. He called up all the resources of England, besieged and finally captured the castle by battery and assault. Chester and Falkes were cowed by Hubert's energy and never came to William's relief; Falkes was exiled and died miserably, William was hanged.

The reign of foreign favourites. As Henry grew old enough to rule he gave his confidence to foreigners. Pierre des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, an intruder from Poitou, had always plotted against Hubert. At last he secured his fall. It was a bad beginning for the young king's personal rule that he should have degraded the victor of Sandwich to whom he owed so much.

Henry married Eleanor of Provence, and her relations flocked to England. Her uncle, Boniface of Savoy, became Archbishop of Canterbury; he was not a bad man for the place, and stood up for the Church against both King and Pope, but he was an alien. His mansion on the "strand"

of the Thames between London and Westminster is still commemorated by a chapel, a theatre, and an hotel.

John's widow Isabel married her old lover whom John had forced her to renounce, Hugh de la Marche of Poitou. Her sons by this marriage, Henry's half-brothers, came to England. One of them, William de Valence, married a grand-daughter of William the Marshal, and thus obtained the lands of Pembroke.

Henry was almost the slave of the Church. The popes sent many of their favourites to hold valuable livings in England. The barons of England were strong enough to refuse to be taxed for the benefit of Rome. But the clergy at large had to pay very heavily—the whole of their first year's income and a tenth of all their income. A leader in the middle of the reign was Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln. He was a great scholar, and like Lanfranc and Anselm did much to rouse the clergy in general to a sense of their spiritual duties. He even went so far as to protest against the entrance of foreign priests into his diocese, and he actually obtained from Rome the right to refuse them entrance. It is worth knowing that the diocese of Lincoln was in those days very large and extended from the Humber to the Thames. Grossetête died before the great baronial rising.

It will be seen from what we have said that Henry III was trying to restore to the monarchy the power which it had enjoyed before the Great Charter. It may be indeed said that this was the intermediate reign between the first attack upon the royal absolutism in the person of John and the final acceptance of Parliament by Edward I. It was extremely natural that Henry should try to be a king like his ancestors. But the barons always had the Great Charter to which to look back. They did not intend to submit without protest to violations of it. For instance in 1242, on the occasion of a French war, they refused in the Great Council to grant any money. Later they objected

very much to an expedition to Sicily, the crown of which had been given by a pope to Henry's second son, a boy named Edmund. But for many years the barons had no strong leader, for even Grossetête, scholar and patriot as he was, did not unite them.

Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. Llewelyn the Great had been, it will be remembered, an opponent of John. He died in 1240, leaving behind him a great reputation. His grandson, Llewelyn the Last, carried on the same work and won back considerable lands from the lords marchers. The next reign was fated to see Wales completely and finally conquered, but just now these Princes of North Wales were at their strongest. Randolph of Chester died in 1232, and after an interval the county palatine through lack of an heir was vacant; Henry bestowed it on his son Edward. So here were the future conqueror and conquered, Edward and Llewelyn, face to face for the first time. Llewelyn at this time did much more than hold his own, conquering from Edward all the intermediate lands between Conway and Chester.

New Leaders: Gloucester and Montfort. At last in 1258 some of the stronger earls banded together in opposition. Richard of Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Glamorgan, was descended from one of William's greatest barons, and may be called the representative of the oldest Norman aristocracy. He held wide lands in many parts of England, particularly in Suffolk, where he had a castle at Clare from which he took his name, in Kent, where was his second castle at Tonbridge, and in Gloucestershire; Clare and Tonbridge had come to him from his grandfather, Gloucester and Glamorgan from his grandmother. For all the lands thus united he owed to the king the feudal service of no less than 450 knights. In contrast to him was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. He was the son of the Simon who had made himself famous in France by his crusade against the Albigensian

Ely; the wooden central octagon built in the 14th century to take the place of the fallen central Norman tower; chancel of much later date than nave

heretics in the days of Innocent III. Therefore he was a foreigner, but he came to England to claim the Earldom of Leicester by right of his grandmother, and the claim was allowed. He was at first popular with neither barons nor king, though he had married the king's sister. At one time he was governor in Gascony, where he added to his unpopularity. Such were the two leaders of the new baronial movement, the one an aristocrat of the bluest blood, the other in the eyes of most Englishmen a new man. But the new man has left his name "writ large" in English history.

The Mad Parliament at Oxford. Under these leaders were drawn up in 1258 the *Provisions of Oxford*. This is a document by which the barons demanded nothing less than the supreme control of the government of England, treating the king as a nobody. A council of fifteen barons was to govern the country. Another body of twelve was to meet the fifteen three times a year, and to them the royal officials were to be responsible. It must be remembered that Henry I and Henry II had created a strong class of official barons, the Justiciar and the Chancellor, sheriffs and judges, chiefly from the loyal and lesser baronage, who were responsible to the crown alone. The men who do the work of governing the country are called the "executive." To-day the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, the other ministers, and the heads of the Civil Service, form our executive. In 1258 the most powerful barons forced the king to give up his executive powers to them, and secured for themselves control over the officials. At the same time the foreign favourites and relations of the king were forced to fly the country. But we must notice that their aims were not the same as those of the barons who rebelled against Henry I or Henry II. In those reigns each rebel wished to make himself a petty king on his own estates, and thus to split England into fragments. The barons of 1258 wished to have, not so much feudal power each for himself, but the

administration of all England, to be carried on by a committee for the whole baronial body. Also notice how small these two committees were; it was more easy for twelve or fifteen to govern the country than for the whole of the Great Council.

In 1259 the fifteen brought about an important treaty with the king of France, the *Treaty of Paris*. Henry definitely gave up all Normandy, Anjou, and Poitou, and agreed to do homage for Gascony as a fief of the king of France. It must have been bitter enough for Henry to surrender thus by treaty what his father had lost in war. Also the overlordship of France over Gascony was sure to lead to an attempt by some French king sooner or later to conquer Gascony. But the barons of England did not care whether the king retained this piece of France or not.

The complete triumph of the baronage was not likely to last long. Jealousy broke out at once, and Gloucester quarrelled with Montfort. Probably it was only Gloucester's death that prevented immediate war. Henry now appealed to Rome for permission to break his oath to observe the Provisions of Oxford, and of course Rome granted it. Simon was denounced as a foreigner and worse than those foreigners whom he had helped to expel. He took up arms, and Gilbert, the young Earl of Gloucester who had succeeded his father, joined him and occupied several places along the river Severn. The city of London was in an uproar and mobbed the royal family. In 1264 the king proposed that King Louis should be asked to arbitrate between the royalists and the rebels. The French king decided in favour of a brother king, and annulled the Provisions of Oxford. This award is known as the *Mise of Amiens*. Simon's party now decided upon open war.

The Barons' War breaks out, 1264. The king had on his side a considerable body of loyal barons, his brother Richard of Cornwall, and his half-brothers of Poitou. With Simon were some of the greater landowners, in-

cluding Gloucester, a body of infantry from London which has been absurdly exaggerated as 15,000 strong, and some Welsh sent by his ally Llewelyn. The armies met at *Lewes* in Sussex where the river Ouse has burst its way through the lofty chalk downs to reach the sea; it was just the place for armies to meet, and to-day it is the centre from which the roads and railways of that part of Sussex radiate. Simon's army advanced over the western downs and descended on Lewes, but was split by a dip in the ground into two bodies. Prince Edward on the king's right charged Simon's left and drove it off the field, but it took him a long time to rally after his pursuit. Returning to the battle-ground he found that Simon had taken prisoner the king and many of his followers; next day he himself surrendered.

Earl Simon's Model Parliament, 1265. The result of this decisive victory was to make Simon king in all but name. It was much more the victory of Simon himself than of the baronial body. The king remained in his power and was forced to agree to observe both the Great Charter and the Provisions of Oxford, but Simon really governed. In 1265 he summoned his famous Parliament. Very naturally he only collected his own supporters, not more than five earls and eighteen barons, but a good many churchmen in spite of the pope being always on the king's side. But the peculiar feature which makes this Parliament a second landmark in our history, next to the Great Charter, is that two knights were summoned from each shire and citizens from the Cinque Ports and other cities. Of course Simon had to raise money for the government of the country, and taxation by a rebel, even if a patriotic rebel, was impossible. Wanting money he had to call together those who could promise money. Yet it would be very unfair to insinuate that Simon had no wish to make this a national assembly. The gathering together of barons and bishops, shire members and city members, makes it the

forerunner of our present form of Parliament, especially as Edward I had a similar Model Parliament in 1295. Notice how after exactly fifty years the twelfth clause of the Great Charter has been extended. Thus the momentary triumph of Earl Simon practically did more for the nation than any complete party victory of the barons could have done.

Royalist reaction and death of Simon. The old jealousy very soon broke out again. Young Gilbert of Gloucester thought himself much too important a personage to be under Simon's control. Many barons were equally jealous. Another cause of disunion was that Llewelyn the Last was Simon's ally; therefore almost all the lords marchers, who were very much alarmed at the growing power of Llewelyn, joined the king. The Mortimers for instance, whose power was in Shropshire and Herefordshire, were strongly royalist, for they had been driven by Llewelyn from some of their lands. Earl Gilbert had as Lord of Glamorgan this additional reason for breaking with Simon. So it is not at all surprising that a new party for the king grew up. Prince Edward escaped from his guardians and put himself at the head of the party. The campaign which followed centred round the town of Gloucester, for here was the first bridge across the Severn; whoever had access to the town and bridge had access to South Wales. After various manœuvres Edward overwhelmed Simon's son at Kenilworth, and finally fell upon Simon himself at *Evesham* on the Warwickshire Avon. The Earl was killed and his army annihilated.

Closing years of Henry's reign. At first the royalists were inclined to be revengeful. But warned by various new risings, threatened both by Llewelyn and by Earl Gilbert, who held the balance of power between the two parties and who even marched upon London where the citizens welcomed him as they had in 1264 welcomed Simon, Prince Edward finally made an arrangement in 1267. There was to be a general peace and no sweeping confiscation of

the lands of rebels. But to this there was an exception: Henry's second son Edmund received Simon's lands and earldom of Leicester, the lands and earldom of Derby, Lancaster, which from Randolph of Chester had passed to the Earl of Derby, and Monmouth and other castles in S.E. Wales. Thus was founded the House of Lancaster. As Edmund's descendants invariably managed to marry heiresses, the family amassed enormous wealth. A century later Edmund's great-grand-daughter Blanche married her cousin John of Gaunt, and they were the parents of Henry IV, the first Lancastrian king. Under Edmund Lancaster became a county palatine. You will remember that Chester, which had been a county palatine since the reign of William I, had come into the hands of Prince Edward.

In 1267 a treaty was made with Llewelyn whose power was too great to be disregarded. He was acknowledged as Prince of Wales, and was allowed to keep much of the march lands almost up to the gates of Chester and Shrewsbury.

In 1270 Prince Edward started on a crusade and was still absent when his father died. Henry III's long reign of fifty-six years came to an end in 1272. It forms the link between the Great Charter and the parliamentary system of Edward I. Even the defeat of Simon could not restore to the crown the power it had in Henry II's reign.

The growth of learning in England. In the twelfth century England began to profit, by the connection with Europe which her Norman and Angevin kings gave her, in educational and religious matters. We have already talked about the monasteries; in many of these, especially in the larger towns, boys were taught and brought up to be priests. Oxford particularly attracted students, and Gerald Barry, the Norman-Welsh historian of Henry II's reign, was struck by their numbers. Oxford on the chief ford of the upper Thames, and Cambridge in the gap between fen and

forest, surpassed other towns where there were schools. The best centre of learning in western Europe was Paris, and thither flocked many young Englishmen. But by Henry III's reign the fame of *Oxford* had grown so high

Salisbury

that it almost rivalled Paris. Students came to learn from special teachers; there was no organization of classes, nor any fine colleges or halls. They were often noisy and quarrelsome, keen politicians, sometimes ready to mob a

Transition to Angel Choir, Lincoln Cathedral

papal legate, sometimes to support such a leader as Earl Simon, or else to fight each other, Yorkshiremen, for example, against Kentishmen. But rowdiness was, after all, only the outcome of youthful high spirits in a crowded town. The benefit to the nation was that foreigners and Englishmen, northerners and southerners, met and studied together at Oxford.

At one time the Church feared that learning might lead to heresy; you will remember how Pope Innocent III destroyed the Albigensian heretics in the south of France when John was our king. Then Dominic, a Spaniard, founded the Order of the Black Friars to help the Church. They were "brothers," bound to strict poverty and to beg their daily bread, and were thus known as Mendicants. Francis of Assisi founded the Grey Friars. Both Orders came to England. They settled in the slums of towns to help their fellow-men; they did not live permanently in their convents, as the monks did, but went out to teach and preach. *The Franciscans* came to Oxford and got most of the teaching into their hands. Robert Grossetête, before he became a bishop and politician, was lecturer to Franciscan students at Oxford. The aim of the Church was to win over the young and clever. Yet the most celebrated of Oxford's sons, Friar Roger Bacon, was accused of heresy and was imprisoned; he was the first man of science in England, and science seemed to be anti-religious because its home was in Spain among the Mohammedans, the Saracens and Moors of Cordova and Granada. In general, in spite of the feebleness of the king, his foreign favourites, and civil war, this reign is noticeable for real progress in learning and serious things.

What, for instance, can be more wonderful than the rebuilding of *Westminster Abbey* by Henry III? Parliament was born in his reign against his will; yet the national Abbey which we owe to him stands in front of our present Parliament House as the chief memorial of his reign,

though indeed it was not finished till very many reigns had gone by. A new style of architecture came in. Lighter yet stronger pillars with high-pitched pointed arches, so as to carry the weight of the roof more easily, graceful lancet windows, and a general sense of more light and air, are the marks inside such a church of the *Early English period* of Gothic architecture; graceful spires or towers, and flying buttresses which support the walls, gradually superseded the heavy Norman work and made the outside more beautiful. Westminster, indeed, has no central tower or spire, but the cathedral of Lincoln has a grand tower. The bishop and clergy of Old Sarum deserted their position on a hill, where was their old cathedral within an old pre-Roman camp, and built a new cathedral two miles off on the bank of a river at New Sarum or Salisbury; the work went on for about a century, and the splendid spire was added last. Both Old Sarum and New Sarum sent members to Parliament.

EDWARD I, 1272—1307

First Welsh War, 1277.
Second Welsh War, 1282—3.
French War and last Welsh War, 1294.
Model Parliament, 1295.
First Invasion of Scotland, 1296.
Wallace's Victory at Stirling, and Confirmatio Cartarum, 1297.
Falkirk, 1298.
Final Confirmation at Lincoln, 1301.

Edward was still crusading when his father died. His claim to the crown was acknowledged, and his reign was dated from Henry's death, though he was not crowned till two years later. He was already married to Eleanor of Castile, a noble-minded lady, whose memory is preserved in the Eleanor Crosses erected at the various places where her funeral procession halted on the way from Lincoln to Westminster in 1290. Some of these crosses can be seen to-day, as at Northampton and Waltham.

King and Parliament. Some writers give all the credit to Simon de Montfort as the father of our parliamentary system, others to Edward I. Each should be honoured according to the circumstances in which he lived. Simon made Parliament possible, Edward made it permanent. Henry II as law-giver had imposed his will on the nation by issuing royal edicts, the Assize of Arms, the Great

Assize, and others; Simon expanded the 12th clause of the Great Charter, and developed the Great Council into Parliament, which became the tax-voting body; Edward utilized Parliament and converted the *tax-voting* machine to be also the *law-making* machine. Thus, he who as prince had crushed the rebel Simon, as king continued and amplified the rebel's work.

In places of Assizes we now have *Statutes*, which were passed by the king on the advice of his prelates and barons and with the consent of his Commons; we call them to-day Acts of Parliament. Edward summoned many parliaments, of different types and kinds and at irregular intervals, until at last in 1295 he had the Model Parliament in which "what concerned all should be approved by all," not only taxation but the general foreign policy of the kingdom as well.

Under Edward II *the Commons* claimed to have a voice in law-making; mere consent was not enough, and they were raised to absolute equality with the prelates and barons. The inferior clergy dropped out and taxed themselves in their own House of Convocation. At least as early as Edward III the prelates—who by right of their lands as tenants-in-chief were also barons—and the barons were definitely separated from the Commons, and so we have two Houses of Parliament. The Commons claimed their right to attack and impeach the king's ministers. The next step was for the Commons to gain sole control of taxation. Parliament is thus strong because of its gradual growth and development.

Next we have the question of *place* and *duration*. Edward I summoned Parliament to any place that was convenient, Gloucester, Winchester, Lincoln, York. Gradually it was found that a fixed centre, Westminster, was best. It sat at irregular intervals, and on each new summons there was a new election. Henry VIII, having got a subservient Parliament, did not dissolve it, but prorogued it; there were

several sessions without new elections. Under William III annual sessions were necessary, and elections were, by the Triennial Act, to be held at least at the end of every three years; under George I by the Septennial Act at the end of every seven.

The *form* of Parliament has been very little changed; only the inferior clergy, and at the Reformation the abbots, have dropped out. Peers are still created by the king, by what are known as letters patent, and they are summoned to Parliament by the king's writ. Under Henry VI only landowners who held freely property worth £2 might vote for the election of knights of the shire, i.e. county members. The Tudors called upon several new towns and even villages to send members to the Commons. It was not till 1832 that representation according to population was accepted as the general principle in the distribution of seats; then big cities which had grown up since the days of Edward I or the Tudors acquired the right to elect members, and small decayed towns and villages lost their members. Twice since then there has been a succession of reforms of Parliament which has worked towards equalising the districts returning members. Wales and Chester first sent members to Parliament under Henry VIII, Durham under Charles II, Scotland under Anne in 1707, Ireland under George III in 1800.

King and the Royal Prerogative. Most English writers regard Edward I as our greatest and most beneficent king. As a man he was handsome and generous, athletic and a clever warrior. Yet naturally in the eyes of Welshmen and Scotsmen his faults loom large; to them he is the "ruthless king," underhand and vindictive; he is sneered at as "Longshanks." Even some English writers accuse him of being tricky, especially in his dealings with his barons; though he insisted that promises should be kept, he kept them in the letter rather than in the spirit. Let us look into this.

Firstly, he was honestly desirous to work well with his barons so as to make Parliament a success. His wish was to act up to the words he used in his summons to the Model Parliament: "what concerns all should be approved by all"; yet two years later he was seizing money and wool without consent of Parliament. Then arose the cry "Magna Carta in danger"; he appeared to be every bit as bad as John, and was called upon to confirm the Charter; for four years he haggled and was accused of trickiness. Of course it is difficult to calculate his motives. But this is clear; he saw that the complete triumph of Parliament would be a complete triumph for the baronage only, and therefore be bad for the nation; so he stood out for the right of the king to be "above both custom and law" for the good of the nation in critical times. This is *the Royal Prerogative.* Crown and aristocracy must work together each in its proper place to trim the ship of state, to preserve the "nice equipoise" of which Burke was to write in George III's reign. As the barons must not be allowed to have everything their own way, the king must stand upon his rights strictly. Thus the men who opposed him in 1297 thought him tricky and tyrannical; he thought them unpatriotic. He was bitterly revengeful on the archbishop and earl who were his most active opponents. Yet he had to give way in the long run. The result was that in the reign of his weak and selfish son the barons triumphed with disastrous results.

He conquered Wales and tried to conquer Scotland. It is easy to cry out about "methods of barbarism" when discussing any conqueror. But one must bear in mind the ideas of those days. He certainly thought that his claim to the overlordship of Scotland was fair; he had been accepted after Balliol's deposition by the whole of the aristocracy of Scotland. David of Wales was a double traitor, first to his own brother Llewelyn, and, when he could not get all he wanted out of Edward, then to

Edward in turn. Wallace of Scotland was the brutal devastator of Cumberland. Hence the horrible punishment of each by hanging and quartering. Besides he naturally had to bear the blame of the petty tyrannies of his servants, though, as he said once on an outbreak, "Why rebel instead of appealing to me against such tyrannies?" He stood upon what he thought were his legal rights as overlord of Wales and Scotland; he never understood the feeling of national independence, for he looked upon national liberty to be mere love of lawlessness.

The Statutes of the reign. We begin with the first *Statute of Westminster* which settled various details of government. At the same time was voted an export tax on the wool and hides going to Flanders; this was the "good custom," and brought in a large sum. At intervals when there was war a property-tax was voted, a thirtieth or a fifteenth as the case might be. Scutage was only sanctioned five times during the reign, and brought in very little money because most barons served in person.

Early in the reign Edward sent round officials to ask on what warrant, *quo warranto*, each baron or landowner held his manors. The Earl of Surrey produced as his warrant the rusty sword of his ancestors, a silly and false piece of brag, yet Edward passed it by. The king clearly had the right to know by what charter or royal grant lands had been awarded; the Statute of Gloucester acknowledged this right.

The second and third Statutes of Westminster decided, amongst other things, that land was not the private property of the holder, and could not be got rid of so as to harm the heir. Also the clause known as *Quia Emptores* provided that if A was overlord, and his sub-tenant B sold or granted some land to C, then A should have the right to the same services from C that he had had from B; to put it differently, if A as overlord has eight soldiers due from B, and if B grants a quarter of the land to C, then C shall send two soldiers to serve A.

The Statute of *Mortmain* provided that land should not be bestowed upon the Church without the king's consent. If an abbey or other ecclesiastical body held land, it was said to be held "in the dead hand," as it could not pass to an heir; whereas when a baron died, his heir had to pay a "relief" to the king before he could take his inheritance.

The Statute of *Winchester* made many regulations for the peace and security of the country, for the safety of towns, for the calling-out of the men of the county when the sheriff raised the "hue and cry" after criminals and rioters, and for the muster and inspection of the county forces with arms and armour according to each man's wealth. It was the Assize of Arms of Henry II brought up to date. At the same time Edward demanded that all whose property was above a certain value should be knighted and ready to serve in his wars; yet when they served he paid them.

This is a long string of laws to remember; but the important thing is to see that here we have a reign of law-making.

The first Welsh war. Llewelyn the Last, like his grandfather, had profited much by civil war in England. He had re-conquered a great deal of land, refused to do homage, and was going to marry Simon's daughter; to Edward this seemed to mean the creation of a new Montfortian party in England. War was sanctioned by the barons in 1277, and all of them, whether old Montfortians or royalists, served in it. A forty days' limit to feudal service, as can be easily seen, was absurd. So Edward asked for smaller numbers of horsemen than a baron was bound by his tenure to bring; Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, in place of the 450 horsemen such as his ancestors owed to William I, brought 10 dubbed knights, making up, with attendant men-at-arms, a squadron of 40 or 50 lances, and served for the whole war. Less important barons took the king's pay before and after the forty days of unpaid service. The

choicest infantry were crossbowmen, but only 300 in number. Other infantry were drawn from counties bordering on Wales, Chester which was in Edward's own hands, Lancaster which was in his brother Edmund's, Shropshire and Herefordshire; also from the marches of south and central Wales. Thus Edward was conquering North Wales with the help of the South Welsh, who, as in the days of Strongbow, were the best archers. Englishmen

Edwardian tower and gateway added to Chepstow Castle

gradually learnt genuine long-bow archery from their allies in these wars. Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, though not touching Wales, provided archers, as indeed might be expected from the home of Robin Hood. The whole army mustered about 1000 mailed horse, 6000 English, and 9000 South Welsh foot, of whom perhaps half had bows. Yet they did not all serve for the full five months, and they were broken up into many detachments.

Edward marched from Chester and cut a wide track through the forests along the coast to the mouth of the Conway river. A small fleet came round from the Cinque Ports, and took a division over to Anglesey in Llewelyn's rear. Caught thus between two armies the Prince came to terms. He surrendered all the land between the Conway and Chester, and whatever he had conquered in the south and centre; he retained his own principality of Snowdonia or Gwynedd, and did homage. Edward at once built a new castle and harbour at Rhuddlan, three miles up the river Clwyd; also castles at Flint, Aberystwith, and Builth on the upper Wye. About the same time the Earl of Gloucester was building an enormous fortress at Caerphilly in Glamorgan, and the Earl of Norfolk was adding to Strongbow's castle at Chepstow.

The second Welsh war. A new war was sure to come. It was hastened by Llewelyn's brother David, who had been Edward's ally and thought himself insufficiently rewarded. In March 1282 he suddenly seized Hawarden castle. The Welsh fought desperately for fifteen months, and both David and Llewelyn burst into South Wales to incite their countrymen of the marches to revolt. It was not till October that Edward, advancing from his base at Rhuddlan, reached the Conway. A corps was again sent to Anglesey, but, when it crossed at low tide to the mainland at Aber, Llewelyn dashed upon it and cut it to pieces. Edward fell back to Rhuddlan and summoned reinforcements for a winter campaign; some 1500 of his war-loving subjects, the Gascons, arrived, all of them crossbowmen whether horse or foot. Soon the English got the upper hand. Llewelyn went to organize a revolt on the Wye, and was beaten and slain near *Builth* in December; there is a constant tradition that he was betrayed, though who were the actual "traitors of Builth" does not appear. David had not the same gift of leadership. English and Gascons in many small bodies penetrated into Snowdonia,

and David was captured in June, 1283. The country was finally annexed.

Castles now arose at Conway, Caernarvon, and Harlech. *Caernarvon* was the official capital; here was installed the Justiciar of North Wales; here Prince Edward was born, but he was not made Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester till many years later. Round each castle grew up a little

Builth Castle as rebuilt by Edward I on an old mound-and-court site; restored from description in documents

town of English settlers. The annexed country was divided into shires, Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Merioneth; Cardiganshire and Caermarthenshire had been formed in 1277. Yet they did not send members to Parliament. English rule does not seem to have been tyrannical, the story of Edward's massacre of the bards has long ago been

acknowledged to be a myth, but of course it did not suit Welsh minds, and feelings of bitterness lasted long.

March privileges and customs. The lords marchers claimed the right to do what they pleased on their own march lands, a claim dating in some cases from the days of Rufus. Many an English earl valued his march privileges even more than his earldom, because of such freedom. Edward clearly meant to put an end to their rights and

Conway Castle, built by Edward I

introduce a reign of law; they resented it greatly, for they had all fought against Llewelyn and saw with dismay that they were going to suffer for it. In particular he objected to their custom of waging war upon each other at their own pleasure, a thing which no king would allow in England. Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Glamorgan, attacked Humphrey of Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Lord of Brecknock. Edward ordered him again and again to desist,

and each time he disobeyed. Strong measures were necessary, and finally Edward imprisoned both earls, stripped them of their march lands, and restored them only after heavy fines had been inflicted. Gilbert died shortly, a sadder and a wiser man. Humphrey lived to get his revenge upon his king; and indeed he seems to have been harshly treated, for it was Gilbert who had been originally in the wrong. The other lords marchers sympathized. The whole story is of importance because a few years later in 1297 there was personal bitterness at the root of the barons' defiance of Edward.

The middle years of Edward's reign show a good deal of disorderliness and his intention to stop it. He brought down his hand very heavily upon the judges whom he found to be guilty of taking bribes and perverting justice. He *expelled the Jews* in 1290, from Gascony as well as from England. This was a very popular act. The Jews were hated for their wealth and their exclusiveness, for they were a colony of aliens enriching themselves at the expense of the natives; all sorts of scandalous stories were circulated, especially that they sacrificed Christian children. Usury, or the practice of asking interest on loans, was hated in the middle ages and condemned by the Church. To take the place of the Jews as money-lenders Edward favoured Italian merchants and bankers. He did not pay them interest on their loans, but gave them trade-privileges. Genoa, Lucca, Pisa, and Florence, were the chief merchant cities for west Europe; Venice was the great trading centre between Asia and central Europe.

The Balliol-Bruce controversy[1]. Next the Scottish question confronts us. King Alexander III died in 1286; his heiress and grand-daughter, the Maid of Norway, died in 1290, and the direct line was extinct. The younger brother of William the Lion of Henry II's reign was David of Huntingdon; his eldest daughter's daughter had married a Balliol, his second daughter a Bruce, and the third a

[1] See p. 148.

Hastings; all these were English barons of Norman blood. John Balliol therefore claimed the throne of Scotland through two women, his mother and grandmother; Robert Bruce through one woman, his mother, but she had been younger than Balliol's grandmother. The lands of Huntingdon, an English barony, had been equally divided between the three families. Bruce and Hastings wished to divide Scotland similarly, Balliol alone held out to keep Scotland one. There were other competitors with weak claims. Edward was asked to arbitrate. In former days the Saxon Edward the Elder, the Dane Canute, the Norman William, had in turn received homage of a vague kind from Scotland; all homage for Huntingdon was of course paid as for an English barony. Henry II had indeed received very definite homage from William the Lion by the Treaty of Falaise in 1175, but this had been extorted from a prisoner who had no right to pledge his successors to be vassals; in any case Richard I had sold this overlordship when he went crusading. Now Edward I consented to arbitrate on condition that he should be regarded as overlord. He went up to Norham, a celebrated castle belonging to the Bishop of Durham on the English bank of the Tweed, at the first ford as you go upstream from Berwick. He arbitrated with fairness, refused to split Scotland into three, and gave the crown to Balliol, who did homage unconditionally as his vassal.

War in France, Wales, and Scotland. Troubles now came fast upon Edward. They rose first in France. He was vassal of the king of France for Gascony; just as he insisted on his rights over Scotland, so he had to submit to the Frenchman's rights over Gascony. Philip IV was as ambitious to secure this province as Philip II had been to get Normandy and Anjou. A pretext came when the sailors of our south coast and of the French north coast, independent and masterful fellows who did not at all care whether their kings were at war or at peace, fought each

other. Philip summoned Edward as his vassal to Paris to account for the conduct of his sailors, and Edward sent his brother, Edmund of Lancaster, who was tricked into surrendering temporarily some places in Gascony; Philip having got them kept them, and the result was war.

As Ballioi was Edward's vassal, the Scottish barons and vassals found that they could appeal against him to Edward as overlord. By this Balliol was goaded into defiance. Thus naturally was formed an alliance between Scotland and France, which lasted down to the days of Mary Stuart and John Knox.

Hard pressed to find soldiers to send to Gascony, for the English cared not whether he held any lands across the sea, Edward impressed Welshmen. As soon as the Welsh had arms in their hands they turned against him, seized Caernarvon, and besieged Harlech and Builth and other castles.

The events of the next half-dozen years require careful study. Not only had Edward three wars on hand; he had to face the opposition of barons at home. They were willing to fight the Welsh, but put pressure on the king to redress their grievances before they would help him against France or Scotland.

The last Welsh war, 1294. Edward had the somewhat rare power of being able to concentrate his attention upon one thing at a time. He cancelled the orders for troops to go to Gascony, and sent them at once into Wales. He himself in the winter was blockaded in Conway castle. The main English army came up in January 1295, and won a complete victory; the Welsh spearmen resisted successfully the charges of mailed horsemen, but were shot down by the archers, for the long-bow had been growing in favour with Englishmen during the previous Welsh wars. After eight months Edward crushed the revolt; Beaumaris castle was erected in Anglesey to control the Menai straits, and Caernarvon was repaired and strengthened. During the rest

of the year Edward was chiefly occupied with naval defence against the French.

The Model Parliament, 1295. Under these conditions, one war finished and two remaining to be faced, he summoned this ever memorable Parliament. His words cannot be too often repeated: "What concerns all should be approved by all, and common dangers should be met by resistance in common." He not only wished to receive money grants, but to bring all orders to regard the war as a national undertaking. He summoned (1) Earls and greater barons by special writ; (2) Archbishops, bishops, important abbots, cathedral clergy, with representatives of the parish clergy; (3) Knights of the shire and burgesses from considerable towns. The three "estates" met separately, and taxed their own "orders" separately.

The first Scotch war, 1296. Now came the turn of Scotland. The English invaded by the coast route from Berwick towards Edinburgh, and their van easily beat Balliol at *Dunbar*. He was deposed, kept for a time in the Tower, and then allowed to retire to France; so he passed out of history, leaving behind him a legacy of national alliance with France. The annexation of Wales probably suggested to Edward that annexation would best suit Scotland also. He declared the crown forfeit to him as overlord. He carried off from the palace of Scone near Perth "the stone of destiny," on which Scottish kings had been crowned; it is still in Westminster Abbey and played its part in the coronation of His Majesty George V. He received at Berwick the submission of all the Scottish nobles and other men of position, whose names were entered on a document called Ragman Roll. There seemed to be nothing more to be done. Yet Edward's policy was unwise. A policy of annexation is seldom effective, unless, as in the case of Wales, it comes at the end of long years of gradual conquest and gradual subjection of march lands. The sudden introduction of

English ideas into Scotland, and the behaviour of English captains on what they thought to be conquered territory, were sure to produce risings. Warlike races, especially if freedom means freedom to fight and raid, cannot sit still.

The crisis of 1297: "Go or hang." The French war remained. Edward had made alliance with the Flemings and wanted more money for a campaign from Flanders. Suddenly opposition arose from the clergy. Robert of Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, produced a bull from Pope Boniface which forbade the clergy to pay any taxes without papal consent. The quarrel was hot. Edward outlawed the clergy, and helped himself to church property; if churchmen refused to aid the government, they should not have the benefit of the law of the land. It was intolerable that a king should be prevented at the bidding of Rome from raising money for a national war.

Next two earls took up the defiance. Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and hereditary Constable, had been nursing his grievances since his imprisonment. Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal—he held this office by right of his grandmother, eldest daughter of William the Marshal, from whom also he had inherited Chepstow—had also a cause for personal bitterness against Edward. Gilbert of Gloucester was dead, or he too would doubtless have joined to form a triumvirate of defiance. First they refused to sail to Gascony while the king himself went to Flanders; their office could be performed only in the king's presence. He declared that they should go or hang; they retorted that they would neither go nor hang; nor did they. Neither would they go to Flanders as a feudal duty. King John had been unable to compel his barons to serve over the sea, for the loss of Normandy had cancelled his right to compel. Evidently the two earls had a powerful silent backing; had they alone defied Edward, they would soon have been crushed.

"Confirm the Charters." News came from Scotland that an obscure knight, William "le Waleys"—it matters little whether he was really of Welsh descent, or was called "Welsh" because he belonged to the Gaelic part of Scotland—had risen in arms. Edward made light of it and continued his preparations for war in Flanders. He requisitioned supplies, and seized the merchants' wool, though he promised to pay on his return. He defended himself against charges of tyranny; he had fairly met his Parliaments and made his appeal for aid from the nation; if unpatriotic and selfish men thwarted him in a policy of war which would benefit the nation, he must stand on his royal rights for the national good. Hereford and Norfolk raised the cry of "Magna Carta in danger," and demanded that he should "Confirm the Charters[1]." But he sailed to Flanders, considering it less risky to leave the earls behind than to disappoint his allies. He took with him barely 800 horse and a few thousand foot, mostly impressed Welshmen; both horse and foot were paid. Prince Edward was regent in his absence, with a veteran soldier Lord Grey as his chief adviser.

Wallace saves England from civil war. That autumn Prince Edward summoned a Parliament, and called armed men to London. Hereford and Norfolk were also arming. Would there be civil war? It certainly seemed to be within measurable distance. Like a thunderbolt came the news that Wallace had fallen upon and routed an English force at *Stirling Bridge*, September 11; attacking it at the moment when one half of it had crossed and was separated from the other by the river Forth. With the king in Flanders, with both loyalists and rebels arming in England, there cannot have been a large army in Scotland for Wallace to defeat; but the results were

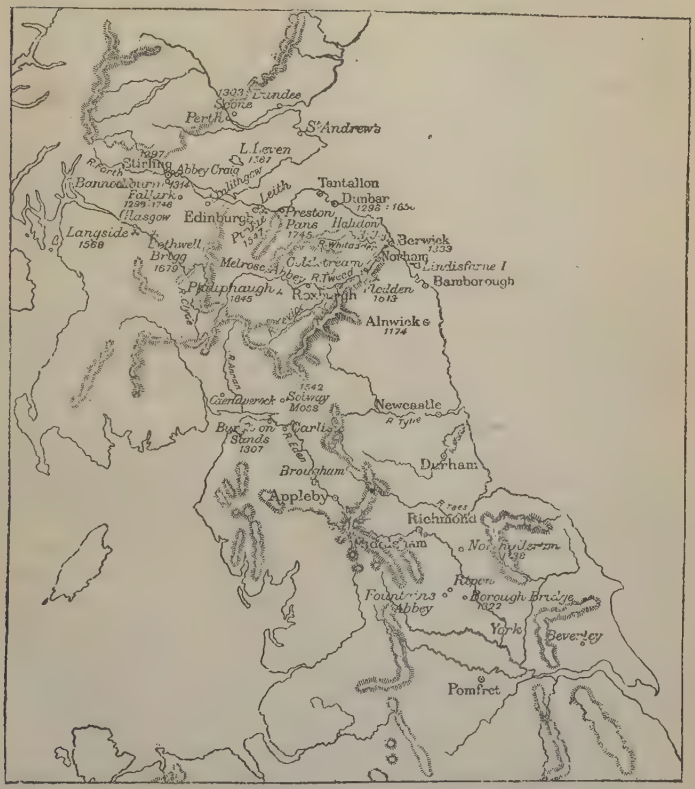
[1] "Charters," because they called on him to confirm, not John's Charter only, but also the Charter of the Forests; this was a document by which the severe forest laws had been modified.

tremendous. The English fell into a panic; Wallace captured several castles and brought over waverers, he was made "guardian" of Scotland for the absent Balliol, and so his rising became a national war. But perhaps the chief result was that civil war was averted in England. Prince Edward and Grey gave way, and the Charters were confirmed. Loyalists and rebels patched up a truce and hastened north to save Berwick. Edward, while yet in Flanders, himself also confirmed the Charters.

The campaign of Falkirk, 1298. Edward had done very little good in Flanders; in fact his Welsh infantry had chiefly distinguished itself by plundering his own allies. He returned early in the year, and summoned a new army for Scotland. His mailed horse, including some Gascons, mustered about 2500 strong, half doing unpaid feudal service, half paid; 12,500 foot were summoned, entirely from Wales and the marches, and Lancaster and Chester, for he obviously preferred to trust his experienced soldiers and even his enemies of the Welsh wars rather than the inexperienced northerners. But, before they would consent to march, Hereford and Norfolk demanded a third Confirmation. Last year the Prince had confirmed in England and the King in Flanders; now they demanded that the King should confirm in person and in England. He refused; he meant to keep his promise, and was not going to have his royal word doubted. They held firm, for they saw their opportunity in his anxiety to fight Wallace. So there was a deadlock. At last the loyal barons pledged their word that he would keep faith, and then Hereford and Norfolk joined the army.

The English and Welsh army came up with Wallace at *Falkirk*, not far from Stirling, July 22. Having few archers and fewer horse, for the nobles of Scotland had not joined him, Wallace drew up his foot spearmen in four great rings, "schiltrons" or shield-walls. Like the Welsh near Conway in 1295, he at first easily beat off the English horse; but

the archers riddled the schiltrons at long range, the horse charged again and scattered the Scots. Yet little result came from the victory. Hereford and Norfolk insisted



Scotland and North England in Plantagenet, Tudor, and Stuart reigns

upon returning home, apparently on the excuse that the forty days of feudal service were over. The army was broken up, though Edward had intended an autumn and

winter campaign. Wallace fled to France. Notice two striking figures on the English side; Antony Bek, the warrior-bishop of Durham, and Robert Bruce, grandson of Bruce the competitor and future king, who, having refused to support Wallace as the guardian for John Balliol, was in Edward's service at this date, and perhaps, though not certainly, was at Falkirk.

The "Conquest" of Scotland, 1303. Hereford died, but Norfolk had still supporters enough to mar the campaign. In spite of Falkirk the Scots were strong enough even to capture Stirling. There was an invasion in 1300 which again lasted only forty days, and one solitary castle, Caerlaverock, was captured by the English. Edward at last had to give way. He had held out against the suspicion that he would break his faith because he had confirmed the charters while abroad; he offered to confirm again with the words added "*Salvo jure coronae*"—saving the right of the crown to be above the law. Nothing would satisfy the barons. So at Lincoln in 1301 he fully and unconditionally confirmed; this was the *final Confirmatio Cartarum*. In 1303 he invaded Scotland and remained there, not for a paltry forty days, but for close on two years. He recaptured Stirling, caught and executed Wallace, and imagined that Scotland was really and finally conquered. Yet while he held himself to be legally justified, as Balliol's overlord, in undertaking the conquest, he failed even yet to perceive that he had roused a national resistance that cared nothing for such legality. Wallace's work lived after his death in the temper of the Scots.

As regards Philip IV of France Edward's troubles were partly removed by the arbitration of Pope Boniface between the two kings. Shortly afterwards Philip withdrew his garrisons from Gascony, and now there was no cause for war between England and France.

Archbishop Winchelsea had been Edward's bitter opponent, but he lost all his supporters and even Pope

Boniface no longer backed him. Edward exiled him with stern words of condemnation for his unpatriotic pride. Antony Bek, who had been loyal and contumacious in turn, was stripped of his power. But the heaviest vengeance fell upon Norfolk; earldom, marshalship, and lands, were given up and restored upon humiliating terms. The moral of all this is clear. As soon as ever Edward brought himself to confirm the charters finally, opposition disappeared and he was able to punish the ringleaders. But, after all, the power of the crown was fatally weakened, and the nice equipoise was lost, for in future reigns when barons wished to put pressure on a king they need only threaten to thwart his war policy.

The rising of Robert Bruce. The grandson of Bruce the competitor has been already mentioned. He had several times pledged and broken his faith to Edward, and he at last made his final choice. The execution of Wallace meant that nobody now stood up for Balliol, and Bruce put forward his own claim. He murdered another claimant, the Red Comyn, who was Balliol's nephew. Edward was on his way to fight him in 1307; but his health was already bad, and he died in Cumberland at Burgh-on-Sands.

A Note on War.

Under Edward I the English first began to show an instinct for fighting. For a couple of centuries after Hastings, whenever there is war, it is the Norman aristocracy that fights with its armed retainers, while the Anglo-Saxon population farms and looks on; Tinchebrai and Northallerton are isolated affairs. Under Edward I the counties near Wales become warlike, under Edward II and Edward III the northern counties learn the art of war in self-defence against the Scots, and finally in France victory and plunder make the whole race pugnacious. War brings out national

character. The Anglo-Saxon is slow to begin, but put him with his back to the wall and make him fight, then his doggedness is shown. He requires leading. When Angevin kings and Norman nobles lead an infantry of mixed Anglo-Saxon-Norman blood, then we have the national English armies winning victories in France.

Armour as worn at the end of Edward I's reign

Cavalry. At Hastings we find in use mail-shirts, open helmets, swords, and short lances. During the Crusades the chain mail is worn from head to toe with a great barred helm, the lances are longer and thicker, and the horse is armoured; therefore cavalry are much more clumsy. At Bouvines, at Lewes and Evesham, the foot are worthless. Horse and foot are combined at Builth, Conway, and Falkirk. But not till after the set-back at Bannockburn do the mounted men learn to combine effectively with the archers. Then we trace, through Boroughbridge and Halidon Hill to Crecy, how from defeat the English learnt the way to conquer, dismounted knights fighting with hollow wedges of archers intermixed.

Archery. The short bow at Hastings was only pulled to the chest. The long bow was used in South Wales in the days of Strongbow, and came to be the favourite English weapon under the three Edwards; the archer stood sideways to his mark, drew to a level with his ear a 30 or 33 inch arrow, aimed and put on his weight and strength at the same moment. Try the two attitudes; in the short pull you only use the weak fore-arm, in the long

pull both biceps and back. Rapid shooting was essential. The cross-bow invented during the Crusades became the weapon of mercenaries, Gascons and Genoese, but it was clumsy to load; the steel cross-bow, however, was very powerful. But the yew long-bow was the weapon for sturdy well-fed peasants, simple, strong, elastic, difficult to master, but deadly when once fairly mastered.

The Schiltron. The pike, a long shaft with pointed iron head, is the weapon for brave men who have not been professionally trained to war. The Welsh and Scots used it against the English, the Flemish against the French, and the Swiss against the Austrians. There is no need to argue that one nation copied another in using it. Pikemen standing firm, shoulder to shoulder, cannot be broken by a direct charge of horse. But they are powerless against arrows, or against a flank attack.

Castles. The "Edwardian" style of castle-architecture was copied from the east, and came into vogue somewhat before Edward I's reign. Conway and Caernarvon are great oval fortresses having enormously thick and high single walls with towers in them at intervals. Rhuddlan, Beaumaris, Harlech, Caerphilly, Kidwelly, all in Wales, are on a rival plan, a lofty hollow square within a lower square. Other and older castles, such as Chepstow and Corfe, have Edwardian additions, thick stone outworks spreading downhill from the Norman keep on the top. The mortar was so strong that it is to-day as hard as the stone.

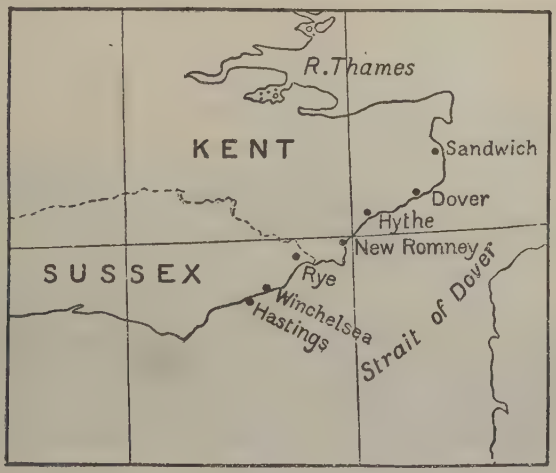
Pevensey: inner castle of Henry II in a corner of the Roman walls

Scale of pay. Daily wages and "find your own food and equipment." Reign of Edward I.

Unskilled labourer	2*d.*	Ordinary foot
Ordinary workman	3*d.*	Sailor
Superior workman	4*d.*	Cross-bowman. Corporal of foot
Mason and carpenter	6*d.*	Light horse. Ship-master
Foreman of masons	1*s.*	Mailed horse. Fleet captain
Architect	2*s.*	Knight. Admiral
King's chief architect	3*s.*	Knight of the King's household
	4*s.*	Baron. Knight-banneret

Notice that the workman is better paid than the soldier. Probably very little of his 2*d.* reached the latter after deduction for food, and he must have expected to make money by loot. Both workman and soldier were liable to be pressed for the king's service, if not enough men were forthcoming voluntarily; desertion was common.

There was a rise of pay under Edward III; Archer 3*d.*; Horse-archer 6*d.*; Earl or Bishop (Crecy) 6*s.* 8*d.*; Black Prince £1. The Black Death doubled pay for some years.



Map of Cinque Ports

But at Agincourt the Crecy scale was resumed, except that the king's brothers received 13*s.* 4*d.*

Horses. These were heavy hard-mouthed brutes of the cart-horse breed, but capable of carrying weight. Best Spanish horses for the king and richest nobles cost £40 to £100; an average price for a knight's horse was £15, for a common troop horse £8. Lists were made of every horse in the king's pay, with colour, points, and value; e.g. "The Earl of Warwick has one black horse with one white foot

and a star in the forehead, price £60." Thus we have very full information. Multiply by 12 or 15 for money of to-day. It will be at once seen that an army of 40,000 cavalry was impossible in the middle ages.

The Navy. Of course the mariners, fishermen, and traders cannot be accused of the supine love of rustic comfort which we find in the peasants. Life in a coast-town sharpens the wits. The Cinque Ports received

Rye

privileges in self-government under the Norman kings; in return they had to find ships without pay for 15 days in the year for the king's service. The original five were Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, Hastings. Winchelsea and Rye were next added, then "daughter ports" in Kent and Sussex, till they numbered thirty. They were at their prime in the reign of Edward I. But their decay was rapid, for shingle and sand, or river-mud, spoilt the harbours. Edward I rebuilt Winchelsea on a new site, now two miles

inland: it was still prosperous under Edward III, and so was Sandwich. The wool trade made the eastern ports rise very quickly, particularly Yarmouth; and, fed by Flemish trade, the fairs of Stamford, Stourbridge near Cambridge, and Boston, were very important. So jealous were the men of the Cinque Ports that in 1297, after co-operating with ships of the eastern ports in escorting king and army to Flanders, they turned on the eastern fleet, fought it, and won. Similarly the trade with Gascony and Spain brought prosperity to the south-west. The shipman mentioned by Chaucer (who died 1400) was of Dartmouth. The fleet during Edward III's siege of Calais consisted of 710 ships, manned by 14,151 men. The list shows the relative importance of the towns: Yarmouth 43 ships and 1095 men, Fowey 47 ships and 770 men, Dartmouth 31 ships, Plymouth 26, the king 25, London 25, Bristol 23, *Sandwich* 22, Southampton 21, *Winchelsea* 21, Shoreham 20, Looe 20, Lynn 19, Boston 17, Newcastle 17, Hull 16, *Dover* 16, Margate 15, Weymouth 15, Harwich 14, Ipswich 12, *Rye* 9, *Hythe* 6, *Hastings* 5, *Romney* 4[1].

Chroniclers. Contemporary writers are mostly monks. Many an abbey kept its register of events, and at St Albans there was a regularly organized history department or scriptorium, monk after monk taking up the tale. They recorded facts faithfully enough, chiefly what interested the Church or their abbey. But they were bad judges of figures[2]; 60,000 or 100,000 is a common total for an army, and they mention 30,000 students at Oxford! They wrote in Latin.

[1] Cinque Ports in italics.

[2] Accurate figures are available for very few campaigns. Those given for the Welsh Wars (p. 122), Edward II's war of 1322 (p. 147), the siege of Calais (p. 158), and Agincourt (p. 177), are taken from actual pay-rolls which exist or from genuine copies of pay-rolls. For the 2500 cavalry at Falkirk (p. 132) we have the evidence of a horse-roll that 1300 were in the king's pay, and that 1200 did unpaid feudal service is a guess.

EDWARD II, 1307—1327

BANNOCKBURN, 1314. BOROUGHBRIDGE, 1322.

The custom of primogeniture is seen at its worst when Edward II comes to the throne. It is indeed strange that so feeble a character should have been the offspring of such parents as Edward I and Eleanor. The best that can be said of him is that after all his reign is not quite so bad as that of Stephen. The barons gained great power, and the ideal of Edward I, that the power of the crown should help to trim the ship of state against the barons, disappeared.

Lancaster and the Lords Ordainers. What first angered the barons was the insolent and ill-bred behaviour of the new king's Gascon favourite, Piers de Gaveston. At their head was Earl Thomas of Lancaster, son of Edmund, who had always been loyal to Edward I. Naturally, when the first cousin of a king puts himself at its head, the disaffected party is all the more strengthened. Thomas inherited his father's three earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester and Derby, and the march land round Monmouth, and shortly afterwards gained the earldom of Lincoln through his wife. Under him Parliament, which means the baronage, claimed to take over the government of the country into their own hands; in 1311 they forced Edward to submit to certain *ordinances*, depriving him of all power to govern, and appointed *Lords Ordainers* as a committee to supervise the administration of the kingdom. Next they got hold of Piers and murdered him.

Campaign and battle of Bannockburn. Meanwhile Robert Bruce was capturing castle after castle in Scotland. It was not till 1314, seven years after his accession, that Edward made some effort to check his career. Indeed, as in the previous reign, many barons devoted themselves to securing their own power as against the king, and cared nothing for the Scotch war. Only Stirling, Berwick, and a few other places, remained in English hands, and it was to save *Stirling* that Edward at last moved. A certain amount of controversy has arisen as to the size of the English army on this momentous occasion. We may, without any fear of contradiction, dismiss the popular error, which is still persistently put forward, that there were 40,000 horse and 60,000 foot. No medieval army ever approached anything like that number. There was no room for even a fraction of 100,000 men to manoeuvre on the battle field, let alone the horses. Moreover, the cost of 40,000 horses would have been beyond the means of any king or nation in those days. The records of the year have been lost, but we know that about 20,000 foot were summoned, and not all of those were archers; they came from the counties of the north, north midlands, the Welsh border, and Wales. Judging by other armies of the period we can guess the cavalry to have been about 2000, or 3000 at the very most; and as Earl Thomas and other lords refused to serve, 2000 is the more likely figure. On the other hand, 10,000 Scots all told is a fair estimate.

Once more, as in Wallace's days, the great middle plain of Scotland watered by the winding and twisting Forth was the scene of action. Stirling commanded the first bridge up-stream, close to where the tide ceases; it is very unusual to have to penetrate so far inland before finding a bridge, and a glance at the map will show the extreme importance of the place. The English approached from the south. From their side of the field you look down a slope to the valley cut by *the Bannock*, a burn flowing from west to

Stirling from the North: Wallace's victory beneath the rock: Bannockburn exactly the other side beyond

east and tributary to the Forth. On the north side the Scots are hidden in a wood, the King's Park, which in those days covered most of the ground between Stirling and the burn, and an old road runs across the burn and up the slope into the wood. In middle distance rises the Rock of Stirling, crowned by its castle. Beyond are the Ochils, and out to the far west the higher mountains among which Ben Ledi is conspicuous.

Bruce held the entry to the wood with his rear schiltron, and on either side of the road had dug several little pits. On the afternoon of June 23 the English van attacked by the road and were repulsed, Bruce killing Henry Bohun with his axe. Meanwhile a body of mounted men made a wide detour to the right, crossed the Bannock lower down, and nearly reached Stirling; Moray issued from the wood, formed up his schiltron like a hedgehog with its spikes out, and repulsed the English cavalry with loss.

Where the main battle was fought on June 24 is not certain. The usual account, sanctioned by Walter Scott, puts it near where Bohun fell. But the chief Scottish authority, the poet John Barbour[1] of St Andrews, says very clearly that the English crossed overnight and slept on the carse or low ground well to the east, in fact where the horsemen passed before Moray beat them; Barbour wrote 70 years afterwards, but the shorter accounts of several contemporary English chroniclers agree fairly well with him. Yet, whether King Edward advanced from south to north, or from east to west, the details of the fight are clear. Bruce quitted the wood and put three schiltrons in échelon, the right ahead of the centre, and the centre of the left; he himself was with the reserve, and a picked body of light horse were hidden in the trees. A skirmishing line of English archers advanced, and then withdrew towards a flank to allow the mounted men to charge. The closely

[1] See W. M. Mackenzie's edition of *The Brus*.

packed horses and men came with a crash on to the pikes of the schiltrons, right, centre, and left in turn. The archers from the flank poured in their arrows, but suddenly were cut up by the light Scottish horse who dashed out of the wood. Meanwhile the great majority of the remaining archers were useless in the rear, and indeed were never in action at all. When at last the cavalry broke the whole of the English army broke with them, and knight and archer, soldier and camp-follower, fled wildly into the Bannock or the Forth. The loss of life in battle or by drowning was very great. The Earl of Gloucester, son of Edward I's old enemy and last of the line of Clare, was killed. Hereford, son of the Bohun of 1297, was taken prisoner. King Edward, who according to every account had fought bravely enough, fled to the gate of the castle of Stirling, but was refused admittance, and reached Berwick with difficulty. The battle was quite decisive. Stirling was surrendered to Bruce, and Scotland was free.

Scottish raids into North England. Bruce had adopted Wallace's tactics in battle. But to carry the war into England he developed his own ideas. He mounted his men, very few of them having iron armour, on moorland ponies. They rode light, each man carrying only a bag of oatmeal and a small gridiron to make girdle cakes, and otherwise they subsisted on plunder. Year after year they raided the northern counties, exacted blackmail from towns and monasteries, and spread a veritable reign of terror as far as York and even further, but without ever fighting a pitched battle. The English of the north had not yet learnt the art of self-defence; they seemed to be quite unwarlike and cowered before Bruce's raiders. The king did nothing to help them. Yet Norham Castle held out well under Sir Thomas Grey. Once a certain Marmion came here to fight the Scots and win his lady's favour; so Sir Walter Scott connects the Marmion of fiction with Norham, but lays the scene of his poem 200

years later in the Flodden campaign. Bruce himself failed to capture Carlisle, held by Andrew Hartley or Harcla. It was this Andrew who first taught the English to raise light cavalry like the Scots, called hobelars, i.e. men mounted on hobby horses; it is a word for a pony. But Berwick fell to Bruce in 1318.

Rebel barons at Boroughbridge. Meanwhile Edward had found a new favourite named Hugh the Despenser, who had a son of the same name. The son was married to one of the sisters and co-heiresses of the last Earl of Gloucester, who fell at Bannockburn, and it much angered the barons that he thus obtained Glamorgan when the Gloucester inheritance was divided. Thomas of Lancaster, and the Earl of Hereford, who had been ransomed since Bannockburn, headed the discontented barons. At last in 1322 Edward brought down Andrew from Westmoreland, who fought and beat the rebels at *Boroughbridge* in Yorkshire; he dismounted his spearmen and formed them in schiltrons, just like the Scots, but with archers on their flanks. Hereford was slain, and Lancaster was captured and executed in his own castle of Pomfret.

The same year Edward made a feeble attempt to avenge Bannockburn. Stupidly thinking that the Scots had won only because they had fought with pikes on foot, he summoned large numbers of foot spearmen, but no archers. This is the first time in the Scottish wars that an army was raised from all the counties of England, for Bruce's raids had exhausted the north. About 7000 English and 7000 Welsh crossed the border. Bruce refused battle; the whole army either starved or straggled home again in terrible plight, and the king himself was nearly captured.

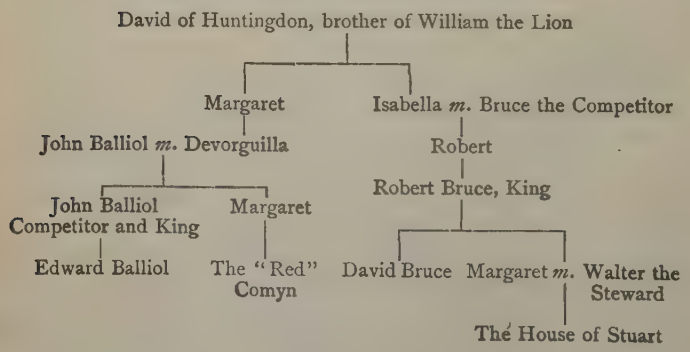
The rights of the Commons. This year 1322 saw something of real and lasting importance. In a Parliament at York the right of the Commons to share in legislation and government was formally acknowledged, the ordinances of 1311 being cancelled because they were the work of the

barons only. The king was obviously looking to the commons to counter-balance the nobles. But we notice that the clergy as a body were not represented; they preferred to tax themselves in their own House of Convocation, which had no share in practical politics. The archbishops, bishops and mitred abbots continued, however, to sit in Parliament, for they were barons as well as prelates.

At last the end came in 1326. Edward's own wife, Isabella of France, and her favourite, Lord Mortimer, rose against the Despensers, who were both hanged. Next year Parliament deposed Edward, but nominally in favour of his own son. He was soon murdered in Berkeley Castle.

In this reign the Order of the Knights Templars was suppressed by order of the Pope. Much of their property passed to their rivals the Hospitallers. Their London house, situated on the "strand" of the river a mile west of the city walls, came into the hands of the lawyers and belongs to them still, though it preserves the name of the Temple.

THE ROYAL FAMILY OF SCOTLAND.



EDWARD III, 1327—1377

Halidon Hill, 1333. Sluys, 1340.
Crecy, 1346. Poitiers, 1356.
Treaty of Bretigny, 1360.
Navarette, 1367, followed by loss of France.
The Good Parliament, 1376.

Though the change of sovereigns was brought about by rebellion, we notice that the custom of primogeniture was retained. Edward III, thus brought to the throne as a boy of fourteen, reigned for fifty years. Under him Parliament grew stronger and stronger, for he was entirely dependent upon it for money for his wars. He was popular, gallant, and to all appearance glorious. He was excessively fond of show, of the glitter and tinsel of tournaments, "round tables" and feats of chivalry. He constantly played at being King Arthur with his nobles as Arthur's knights, and feasted at a round table in the great hall of Windsor. He founded the Order of the Garter. Of course there is another side to the picture. His wars caused intense misery in France, and these heroes of chivalry could be desperately cruel to those of lower birth. Yet the yeomen and small freeholders and copyholders of England, the bold peasantry who are a country's pride, gained enormously by his wars, for they learnt the lesson of their own importance, when both king and nobles were dependent upon them to fill up the ranks of the army. The long bows of England and the strong English arms which drew them not only were cele-

brated through Europe, but compelled recognition at home. This reign saw the feudal system break down finally and completely as a means of raising troops. Every man from prince to peasant was now paid for his service.

Bruce's last raid and treaty. Bruce, then on his deathbed, sent Lord James Douglas on his last raid into Northumberland, the terror of which is graphically described

Halidon Hill from Berwick: battle fought on the further side of the hill. Stephenson's railway bridge in the foreground

to us by Jehan le Bel, a chronicler from Hainault. The young king had just married Philippa of Hainault, and the chronicler was in her train. The more celebrated Froissart, also a Hainaulter (born 1337), copied a great deal from Jehan le Bel. The raid was followed by "the shameful treaty" of *Northampton*, by which Bruce's full independence was acknowledged. It was partly the disgust caused by this

treaty that led many of the English barons to join against Mortimer and Isabella; Mortimer was executed, and Isabella imprisoned for life.

England's revenge for Bannockburn. Bruce died in 1329, and James Douglas met his death while carrying Bruce's heart to the Holy Land. David Bruce was a child. Almost at once Edward Balliol, son of the late King John

Battle of Halidon Hill, 1333: Sc, Scottish Army; E, English; C, Castle; B, Berwick

Balliol, put in a claim to the Scottish throne, and won over some adventurous Englishmen to join him. He went by sea to Fifeshire, and won a victory against great odds at Dupplin Moor near Perth in 1332. Next year Edward of England took up the cause of Edward Balliol, for the Treaty of Northampton had been made by the usurper Mortimer, and moreover young David's guardians refused to carry out

their part of the agreement. The two Edwards laid siege to Berwick, and took up a position on *Halidon Hill* between the sea and a tributary of the Tweed. A Scottish army coming to relieve Berwick was forced to attack the hill, for there was no means of working round either flank. Edward dismounted his mailed men-at-arms and formed them in three schiltrons with their cavalry lances used as pikes; between each dismounted body he placed a hollow wedge of archers with the apex pointing towards the enemy. These hollow wedges of archers were called *herses* or harrows. The charging Scots were blinded by the arrows and forced into the intermediate spaces in front of the lances. They broke, and the English then mounted and pursued. "There wonne the archers of Yngelonde great laud," says Capgrave, the first chronicler who wrote English history in English. Berwick surrendered, and henceforward was an English town and a gateway into Scotland.

Halidon Hill was a critical battle which shows that the lesson of Bannockburn had been learnt, for knights and archers now supported each other. The same tactics triumphed again and again in the next hundred years.

One more military reform must be noticed; about this period the archers were mostly mounted on ponies, and so were able to keep pace with the Scots, but they dismounted to shoot. The North had at last asserted itself and could face the Scots, no longer liable to panic when raided, but able to win victories.

Balliol surrendered to England a great piece of the south-east of Scotland, and was himself to be the vassal king of the remainder. But the English were never able to hold more than Berwick. The war between the two nations dragged on. Balliol had to take refuge again in England. Finally the long French war attracted all the energies of England. Scotland offered hard blows and very little plunder, war in France less trouble and more loot. Yet

the main reason of Scotland's continued independence was Scottish grit and endurance.

The Hundred Years' War begins. The first cause of the French war was the alliance of France with Scotland. But even more important was the French king's determination to conquer Gascony, a policy which he had inherited. Besides these there was a third cause to be found in Flanders; the Count of Flanders was a vassal of the King of France, and looked to France for help to conquer the great manufacturing cities, such as Ghent and Bruges, which were practically independent of him; the king of England was only too glad to help the Flemings who bought the valuable English wool. Moreover the rival sailors and fisher-folk of each coast were always fighting, and French raids were often quite successful against our ports from Dover even as far as Bristol. Edward's mother Isabella had claimed the throne of France for him, for she was sister of the late king. But the French had previously protested against a woman's inheriting the crown, relying professedly on a supposed "*Salic*" *law*, but really having in view the sensible idea of "France for a Frenchman." They chose Philip VI of Valois, Isabella's cousin, and Edward III did homage to him for Gascony. It was not till later that Edward seriously put forward his claim to the French crown.

Money troubles and a sea victory. The war was very popular in England at first and Parliament voted large sums. Yet Edward gained no great victories; and when he took his armies to Flanders his many allies there helped him to spend but not to fight, with the result that he became so hard pressed for money that once he actually had to pawn his crown, and on another occasion to leave two earls as hostages, before he was allowed to return to England. He once accused his ministers of cheating him, and they promptly claimed their right of being tried by their equals or peers; the right was recognized and to the present day a peer can claim in certain cases to be tried by the House

Berwick upon Tweed as re-fortified by Elizabeth; the border-bridge built by James I; castle where now is railway station; Halidon Hill to left

of Lords. Yet Edward won a very great victory at sea in 1340 off the port of *Sluys*, close to the scene of John's victory off Damme, just where the canal from the interior of Flanders comes down to the sea at the sluice-gates. To commemorate this victory Edward struck the first English gold coins, bearing the design of a ship and himself standing in it with a shield whereon the leopards of England and the lilies of France are quartered together. Down to the reign of George III the lilies were always carried as part of the royal arms of England. The war now died down in Flanders but broke out shortly in Brittany.

Campaign and Battle of Crecy. There was no fighting of any importance till the year 1346. The French were then making a vigorous attack upon Gascony. Edward being in great want of money repudiated his debts to the merchants of Florence and other great cities of Italy, thereby causing very grave distress to the lenders who had trusted him. With new sums of money voted to him by Parliament, in place of paying his debts, he equipped a new army. Every single man was paid, from the archer who got threepence a day up to the king's own son,—who was then sixteen years old and is for ever celebrated as the Black Prince,—who received £1. About 2500 nobles, knights and men-at-arms were mustered at Portsmouth, and about 7500[1] archers. Contrary winds would not allow the expedition to pass down channel; and Edward suddenly determined to land in Normandy, hoping thus to draw away the French from Gascony. The English landed and pillaged far and

[1] Jehan le Bel, the most moderate chronicler, says 4000 men-at-arms, 10,000 archers, 10,000 other foot, "and not more whatever anybody may say." But even his figures seem rather too high; we know from documents that there were about 600 knights, and can add three common men-at-arms to each knight. The "other foot" and camp-followers were not good fighting material. Compare the authentic figures of the army which besieged Calais, and remember that it had been very largely reinforced since Crecy.

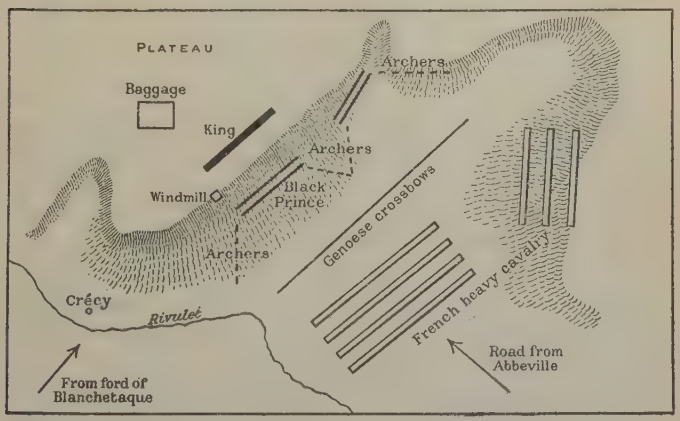
wide. But then the fleet deserted; Edward probably gave leave for some of the ships to return home, for they were ordinary trading vessels, and the rest took French leave. At any rate here was an English army stranded in France and liable to be overwhelmed by the superior numbers of French who were hurrying up from every direction. At last it managed to cross the Seine not far from Paris, and then marched fast to the north towards the mouth of the next

Sir Geoffrey Loutterell being armed, d. 1345

river, the Somme, crossed it at low tide by the ford of Blanchetaque and turned round at bay upon a hill-slope near the little town of *Crecy*. The country here was called Ponthieu, and was claimed by Edward as the inheritance of his grandmother Eleanor of Castile. A battle had to be risked, for the expected new fleet was not yet in sight. It was now six weeks since the first landing in Normandy.

The immediate purpose of the campaign had been effected, for the bulk of the French troops had been called off from Gascony.

The English had a full day's rest at Crecy before the great French host slowly crossed the Somme at Abbeville. The Halidon Hill formation was adopted; two bodies of dismounted knights and men-at-arms were in the background, with three herses or hollow wedges of archers on the flanks and in the centre. Edward had a large reserve in the rear on the top of the slope, and took his stand on a



Battle of Crecy, August 26, 1346

windmill whence he could see the whole field. Slowly the French came up under King Philip himself, and late on the afternoon of August 26 delivered their attack. First a few hundred Genoese cross-bowmen were pushed forward, but were no match for the English long-bows. Then the French cavalry charged, while the archers from their hollow wedges poured in their arrows. The horses were maddened and could hardly be brought to face the storm; charge after charge was fruitless. Yet once some cavalry burst through

the zone of "fire" just before sunset, and reached the English line, where the young prince and his bodyguard, dismounted like everybody else, fought them hand to hand. It was then that the king refused to send reinforcements so that "the boy might win his spurs." By nightfall the French had been everywhere repulsed, but there was no countercharge or pursuit.

Neville's Cross and Calais. The victory was considerable and came as a great surprise. That the celebrated chivalry of France should be routed by men of whose capacity in war nobody had had any knowledge, by mere plebeians armed with weapons of no reputation such as bows, came as a shock to all Europe. Edward at once took advantage of his success and of the arrival of his new fleet, which occurred shortly afterwards, and laid siege to Calais. A great deal of determination was shown in this siege; neither Edward nor the prince went home, but remained in camp through the whole winter. In the meanwhile an army of Scots invaded England in October, but was badly beaten by the north-country English at *Neville's Cross* near Durham. Once more the long-bows won the day, and David Bruce was taken prisoner. Thus there was no need for Edward to relax his grasp on Calais. Next year reinforcements poured in, until by July 32,000 soldiers of all ranks were assembled, over 5000 heavy cavalry, 5000 horse and 15,000 foot archers, with other infantry and a few foreign mercenaries, while a fleet of 700 ships and 14,000 sailors blockaded the port or were plying to and fro between the army and England. This is the maximum force which England could bring to bear in the middle ages, when almost every available competent soldier was put into the field. Calais was, after a siege of eleven months, surrendered in July 1347, Philip not daring to risk a battle to save it. Henceforward for over two centuries the English had always in Calais a gateway into France, not only for their armies, but also for their wool.

Fowey (Troy Town); contributed many ships to Edward III's fleet

A great deal of our information comes from Froissart, the chronicler from Hainault who was devoted to Queen Philippa, but he was only a boy at this date and wrote much later with a good deal of exaggeration, relying on gossip which he had picked up from various actors in the scene. He saw only the showy side of war, the glitter and the excitement. He was particularly attached to the Black Prince, in whose honour on his triumphal return home Edward founded the Order of the Knights of the Garter; their headquarters were at St George's chapel in Windsor, where the castle was now rebuilt as the chief royal residence by Bishop William of Wykeham.

The Black Death and wages. But now we have the other side of the picture. A fearful plague came from the east and broke over both France and England. It was known as *the Black Death*. Nearly half the population was carried off within some three years. Yet the terrible misery thus caused was not in itself so important as the political result. For a long time past the English villeins or peasants had been gradually bettering themselves; many of them had been able to purchase their freedom and had become, not full free-holders of land, but "copy-holders"—so-called because they held copies of the documents which attested the purchase; often a lord of the manor preferred to pay his villeins for their work done for him, and on the other hand received rent from them for their little holdings. Now after the Black Death the villeins were so few in number that they could demand very high wages. Parliament was almost entirely composed of landowners, and in 1351 it passed a law, *the Statute of Labourers*, to cut down wages to the level at which they stood before the Black Death. Efforts were also made to bring back the strict old-fashioned state of villeinage. But in spite of everything the peasants thrived more and more. The Black Death did not immediately and solely make the villeins free, but contributed with other causes to free them somewhat more speedily

than would otherwise have been the case. They knew their own value as workmen, and they could ever demand higher wages as archers. The statute finally became a dead letter.

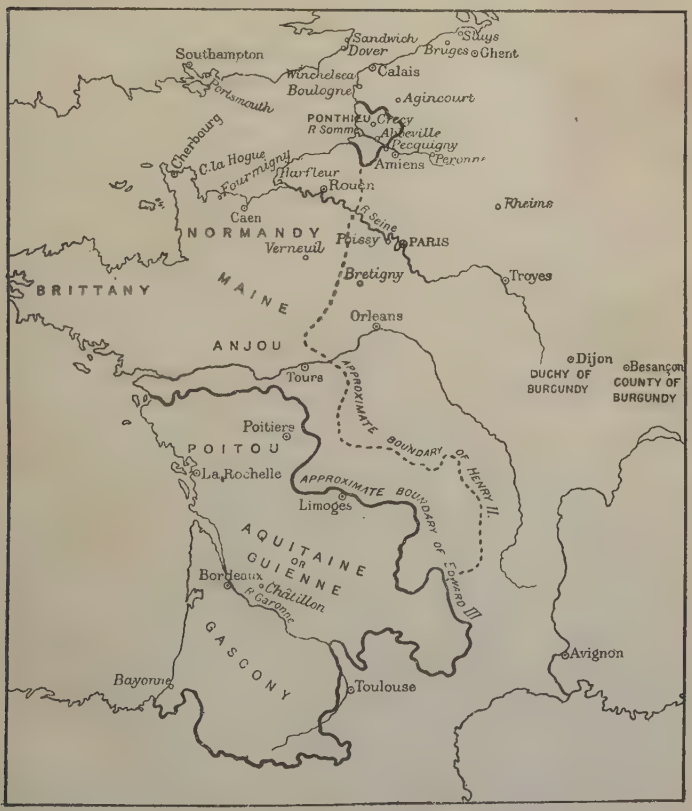
England, Rome, and Avignon. Since 1305 the seat of the Papacy had been, not at Rome, but at Avignon on the Rhone in Provence, adjacent to the frontier of France, and it continued there till the end of Edward's reign. For no less than seventy years the popes were in fact little more than the prisoners of the kings of France. Thus Edward III, being the open enemy of France, was the first English king since John who refused to submit to be the vassal of the pope; he discontinued the payment of the thousand marks which had first been paid by John. Each pope tried hard to retain the allegiance of Edward, and on one occasion, when a pope confirmed his choice of a good warrior but poor scholar to be Bishop of Durham, men said that if he had nominated a donkey the pope would have sanctioned it. Again and again did the Church try to negotiate peace between England and France. Only through the king of England could the pope retain overlordship over England; Parliament had always been much more bitter than any king against the papal power. Just at this date two laws were passed. The one, called the *Statute of Provisors*, forbade clergymen to receive appointments in England from the pope without the king's consent; the other, the *Statute of Praemunire*, forbade any appeal to a pope or the acceptance of orders from a pope in England, except with the king's consent. It is hardly likely that these extreme measures would have been passed if it had not been for the exile at Avignon. Lasting for seventy years it is called the Babylonish captivity, because the Jews had been exiles in Babylon for seventy years.

The Black Prince at Poitiers. We return to the war in France. Since the fall of Calais there had been a great deal of fighting on a small scale in many parts, but in 1355 the Black Prince, now a man, went to live at

Bordeaux, the capital of Gascony. He raided French territory that year and again in 1356. On his way home to Bordeaux with an immense amount of plunder he encountered the army of John, the new king of France. He faced round to fight a few miles from the town of *Poitiers*, about forty miles south of the river Loire. The French, departing from their tactics at Crecy, came to the attack on foot, except one small mounted body which tried to rush the archers on horseback. The English victory was more complete than at Crecy. The Prince, though greatly outnumbered, not only repulsed them, but followed up and made a counter-attack. He had a small mounted reserve, and also sent some Gascons to make a wide detour and fall on the French rear. At the critical moment, when the attacking French were in a confused mass, Sir John Chandos gave the word for the counter-charge, which was decisive. The Prince secured an enormous number of prisoners, and amongst them King John.

Then France felt all the miseries of defeat. The king and nobles were held to ransom, and the French peasants were expected to pay. The sums demanded were so enormous that the country was drained, yet the full ransoms were not forthcoming. The peasants, maddened by pillage as well as by these exactions, rose in many places; the movement is called the *Jacquerie* from the name of one Jacques Bonhomme. There was also a city rising at Paris. And as if the English enemies were not enough, bands of mercenaries and adventurers from Germany, the Netherlands, and even from many parts of France itself, plundered and tortured in every direction. These bands are known as the *Free Companies*. The English were responsible for the presence of these brigands in France, but very few of them were English. In 1359 King Edward invaded again in person. No great battle was fought, and in 1360 was drawn up *the Treaty of Bretigny*. Edward gave up his claim to the French crown, but was to hold in full sovereignty,

and not as vassal of the French king, Calais, Ponthieu at the mouth of the Somme, and the whole Duchy of Aquitaine, from the Loire to the Pyrenees, which had been the original



Norman and Plantagenet possessions in France

possession of Henry II. This treaty cancelled Henry III's Treaty of Paris.

The English lose ground in France. The Black Prince reigned at Bordeaux as duke and viceroy. He had an extravagant court and was much too fond of show. Soon, being pressed for money, he went into Spain, like any common mercenary, to fight for King Peter who was at war with his brother Henry. A great Breton warrior, Bertrand du Guesclin, collected many of the French-speaking free companies and took service under Henry. The Prince won a notable victory in North Spain, between the villages of *Navarette* and *Najara*, in 1367. But Peter refused to pay him his wages and retreated to his fortresses. The very hot weather and sickness crippled the English army, and the Prince returned to Bordeaux ruined in health and pocket. Then he laid a tax upon the Gascons which they resented, and they appealed to the king of France, Charles V. The Treaty of Bretigny was repudiated and the French now got their revenge. Bertrand was made Constable of France and his free companies were taken into pay as regular French soldiers. He adopted the Scottish plan of wearing out the English by refusing a pitched battle. He secured town after town and castle after castle by surprise or treachery. As the Gascons joined the French the English were greatly outnumbered. The Spanish fleet came up and won a victory off La Rochelle, so that England lost the control of the sea which since the battle of Sluys had enabled troops to be landed anywhere in France. Chandos and many old soldiers were dead, the Black Prince too ill to fight, and his brother John of Gaunt utterly incompetent. Very soon only Calais and a mere strip of Gascony along the coast between Bayonne and Bordeaux remained in English hands.

Wycliffe and the Lollards. At home the closing years of Edward III were full of interest. John Wycliffe, Master of Balliol College at Oxford, attacked the Church and the priests, and collected a band of devoted men whom he sent round the country preaching. Wycliffe's followers were the famous *Lollards*. He translated the Bible into

English which is not so very unlike what we speak now. He even in the next reign attacked the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and was one of the first to declare that the bread and wine in the sacrament were not actually changed into Christ's Body and Blood, but were only symbols. However much we may revere his memory we cannot be surprised at the excitement which he caused. To attack the doctrine of the Church was something wholly new in England, even though the vices and ambitions of churchmen had been often enough blamed and ridiculed. It was unfortunate for him that his cause was taken up by John of Gaunt, a self-seeking and ambitious man who attacked the Church for purely selfish reasons. On the other side the best of the churchmen was William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, architect of Windsor Castle, and founder in the next reign of New College at Oxford and of Winchester School.

Impeachments by the Good Parliament. John of Gaunt gained complete control over his father who was now in his dotage; he turned out the clerical ministers such as Wykeham, and brought in his own favourites. In 1376 what is known as the *Good Parliament*, enjoying the support of the Black Prince, attacked John and impeached his favourites who had been guilty of injustice and bribery. This is the first instance of the use of the celebrated method of *impeachment*, by which the House of Commons, when it considers the king's ministers to be in the wrong, claims the right to accuse them before the House of Lords. The knights of the shire were now definitely joined to the members of the towns to form a House of Commons. Its president was known as "the Speaker," that is to say the man who speaks the will of the members before the king. The Speaker in the Good Parliament was Sir Peter de la Mare. The House of Lords has always been the supreme court of law, and therefore it was right to summon ministers before it. The ministers of John of Gaunt, Lords Latimer and Neville, were condemned on this occasion.

But the Black Prince died, and Gaunt soon regained his power. The Bishop of London cited Wycliffe to appear to answer a charge of heresy; down came Gaunt to St Paul's Cathedral, stopped the trial and carried Wycliffe off by force of arms. The Londoners rose in excitement and sacked Gaunt's mansion, the Savoy. There is little doubt that he was aiming at the throne, either to dispossess the Black Prince's son Richard, or to be acknowledged as Richard's heir. There is this to be said in his favour; he was the enemy of the Church, and as the chroniclers were all churchmen they have probably blackened his memory in history, making him out to be somewhat worse than he really was. What we chiefly dislike about him is that he damaged Wycliffe's reputation and power for good.

Pictures of life in England. Though Chaucer lived into the next reign, we may speak of him here. His chief poem is the *Canterbury Tales*, a series of stories told by a number of pilgrims as they rode from London to Canterbury to pay their devotions at the shrine of Thomas Becket. His descriptions of the pilgrims give us a wonderfully interesting picture of the men and women of the time. There were a knight, who had fought in the later crusades, "a very perfect gentle knight"; his son, a hot-headed young squire; his attendant yeoman, a green-coated archer who "bare a mighty bow" and a sheaf of peacock arrows. Next came a prioress, very dainty in her manners; a monk, who was far more fond of hunting than the sound of his chapel bell; a friar, who knew all the taverns in town and was the best beggar of alms in all his house. But Chaucer's sarcasms against the Church need not make us think that there were no good monks and friars, though his dislike was probably shared by many others of his time. There was, in the way of contrast, a poor parish parson, the very model of a devout and devoted man:

> "But Christ's own lore and His Apostles twelve
> He taught, but first he followed it himself."

There were a merchant, who traded between Ipswich and Holland; a student of Oxford, who spent all his money upon books; a Franklin, or country gentleman, who was devoted to eating and drinking; five rich London tradesmen and their cook; a doctor; a shipman of Dartmouth,

Canterbury Pilgrims

who had often sailed to Bordeaux and to Spain; a ploughman, who was the poor parson's brother, and a noble and unselfish worker; a miller; and a woman, called the Wife of Bath, who was renowned for her weaving in which she surpassed even the men of Ypres and Ghent.

In 1376 died the Black Prince, and in 1377 Edward III His corpse was left stripped and naked on his death bed; the rings were torn from his fingers—a miserable ending

truly for the would-be star of chivalry. The glorious reign of victories had ended in defeat and loss. But in these fifty years the peasants were learning their true strength and were prospering greatly. The towns, profiting by the wool trade and the general commerce which came with it, were both active and busy. Englishmen were beginning to weave their wool as well as the Flemings, and did not only export it. Norwich had become the second city of the kingdom. The western ports, such as Bristol, Fowey, Dartmouth, Exeter, and on the other side Hull, Boston, Ipswich, Yarmouth, were growing fast as trading centres and had quite supplanted the old Cinque Ports. But the triumphs of Crecy and Poitiers, the wealth brought into England by the ransoms of French prisoners and by loot, had given rise to a spirit of pride and luxury hitherto unknown. When the Hundred Years' War began, chroniclers pointed to France as the land of wealth and overweening extravagant show; later they used exactly the same language of the upper classes of England.

Canterbury Cathedral. The original Norman work was burnt down. The "Harry" Bell Tower was finished shortly before 1500

RICHARD II. 1377—1399

The Peasants' Revolt, 1381.
Wycliffe dies, 1384.

A period of discontent. Richard II succeeded, being the Black Prince's only son. His uncle John of Gaunt was the chief man in England during his minority, and with all his pushing and over-bearing nature he was an incompetent ruler. In 1381 came the *Peasants' Revolt*. The villeins, and those peasants who had managed to rise above villeinage, were a strong and sturdy lot, rough in manners, but well fed and conscious of their power. They resented the Statute of Labourers, and every attempt to re-introduce serfdom. The revolt in Kent, headed by Wat Tyler, was caused by a new and heavy tax called the *Poll Tax*, which was levied upon every poll or head. Moreover the French war, for which it was levied, was going very badly. The example of Kent was copied elsewhere, especially in the eastern counties. John Ball, a priest, stirred up the people by his clever tongue, teaching that all men were equal.

> "When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?"

Wat Tyler's men reached London, and there Wat was slain by the Lord Mayor. Then Richard, a boy of sixteen, declared that he would be the peasants' leader. But Parliament was composed of landowners, and bitter vengeance

was taken on the peasants who thought that their grievances were going to be redressed. For instance, at St Albans John Ball was executed, and the promises of liberty and privileges, granted by the abbot when he had thought his life to be in danger, were cancelled. Yet none the less the peasants rallied in time and continued to prosper, and villeinage gradually died out.

Meanwhile Wycliffe had continued his career of preaching and teaching. It was now that he attacked the doctrine as well as the behaviour of the Church, and wrote against Transubstantiation. He was much helped by Richard's wife, Anne of Bohemia; his views had spread in that country, where the reformers were called *Hussites* from his follower, John Huss. Yet the Lollards lost ground. The Babylonish captivity at Avignon came to an end, a great schism in the Church was at last stopped by a *Council* held at *Constance*, and Huss was burnt. In England the bishops attacked Wycliffe, and, although they were unable to have him put to death as they would have liked, he had to retire to his parish of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, where he remained till his death. His revolt against the Church and the peasants' revolt against the government had much in common, and were signs of the discontent of the time.

Government by standing army. The barons in this reign, as in so many others, were very selfish and grasping. They attacked Richard's favourites, their leaders being called the *Lords Appellant*, because they "appealed," that is to say accused, of treason these favourites. Richard at last triumphed over them, and began to rule as a tyrant, surrounded by a bodyguard of archers from the loyal county of Chester. He was very popular in Wales and Chester, where the memory of the Black Prince was cherished. It is difficult to avoid feeling some sympathy for him, for the barons, who had made him break his word to Wat Tyler's followers, acted in utter disregard of his rights, as if the king ought to have no voice in the government. But his

was the only attempt since the reign of John to govern by downright military force. He was able to raise his little standing army from Chester as a county palatine; for having no son he was himself Prince of Wales and Earl Palatine of Chester.

Revolt of Henry of Lancaster. Parliament had decided that the heir to the throne was Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, son of Philippa, who was daughter of Lionel of Clarence[1], the next brother to the Black Prince. But Mortimer died in 1398, leaving a son. John of Gaunt was next brother to Lionel. He had a son Henry, who, like every man of the house of Lancaster, married an heiress, Mary Bohun, daughter of the last Earl of Hereford of that family. When Gaunt died, Henry had claim to four earldoms through his mother Blanche, Gaunt's wife, namely Lancaster, Leicester, Derby, Lincoln, and three earldoms through his wife Mary, namely Hereford, Essex and Northampton; and, in addition, all the Lancastrian and Bohun march lands, Monmouth, Kidwelly and Brecknock. He had been exiled by Richard, and was then crusading in the east of Germany against the heathen Prussians. Richard seized to himself all the lands on Gaunt's death. Henry retaliated by landing in Yorkshire in arms to win his own vast inheritance, and rallied round him all the discontented. Richard was then in Ireland, and on hurrying back he was overpowered at Flint before he had time to collect his forces. He was dethroned by Act of Parliament, and afterwards murdered in Pontefract or Pomfret castle.

[1] See pp. 175 and 187.

HOUSE OF LANCASTER, 1399—1461

HENRY IV, 1399—1413

Battle of Shrewsbury, 1403.

The successful rebel took the title of Henry IV. He claimed to have obtained his crown by grant of Parliament, but this Parliament was simply giving its sanction to successful rebellion and murder. When Edward II was dethroned and murdered, the crown went to his true heir and son. Henry IV was not the true heir to Richard, for the previous Parliament had declared for Roger Mortimer, whose son Edmund was alive. Thus one Parliament proceeded to do exactly the opposite of what a previous Parliament had done, a fact which shows that the party of rebellion found it convenient to give to their actions some semblance of legality. But the legality was open to question; and when there are difficulties about the succession to the crown, civil war follows sooner or later.

This was therefore quite an unhappy reign for the king himself. The baronage at first dominated Parliament, and the king was weak. In spite of his enormous private wealth he was always in difficulties, for he had to reward those who had made him king. Personally he was a conscientious man, but he had to suffer for the rebellion which gave him the throne and the crime which followed. In particular he was forced to seek the support of the Church. So it came to

pass that he, the son of John of Gaunt who had helped Wycliffe, had to secure the support of the papacy by persecuting the Lollards. The celebrated Act of Parliament, *De Heretico Comburendo*, enforced burning as the punishment for heretics, and so Lollardy was ultimately stamped out. Yet Parliament did not love the Church, and attacks were made upon its property.

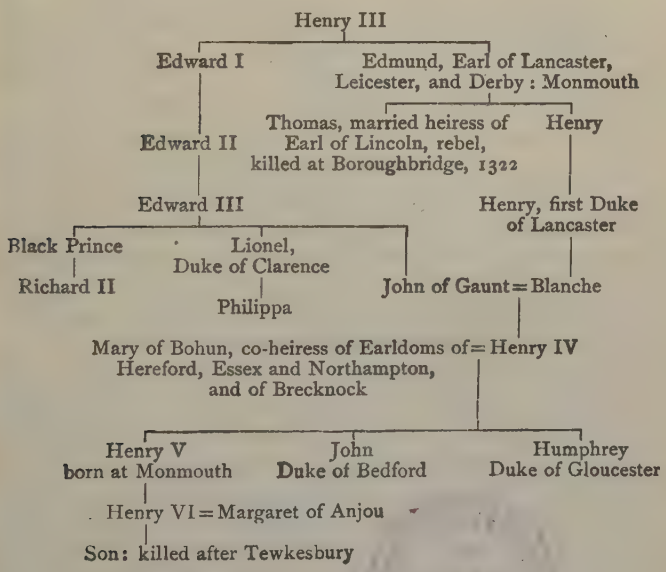
A rebellion against the rebel. Trouble broke out on the Scottish border. The English Percies and the Scottish Douglases were continually fighting, and the Earl of Northumberland, the head of the Percies, took Douglas prisoner. Henry claimed that the prisoner should be his. Northumberland had been one of Henry's supporters against Richard, and he did not mean to let the king, whom he had helped to put on the throne, dictate to him. It was easy to find an excuse to rebel against a rebel. Therefore the Percies got up a conspiracy. At the same time a great Welsh patriot, Owen Glendower, had broken out in North Wales and defied every effort of the English to suppress him. The rebel Percies marched towards Wales to make common cause with Glendower. Henry's forces intercepted them near *Shrewsbury* and won a victory in which Northumberland's son, known as Harry Hotspur, a dashing and hot-tempered young man, was killed. The formidable conspiracy was broken. But Glendower, who had been too far from Shrewsbury to bring any help, held out in his native mountains and was never caught; we do not know the exact date of his death.

New progress of the Commons. Now it was the turn of the Commons. They claimed the exclusive right to vote grants of money; they even went further, and demanded control of the royal accounts. They dictated who should be the king's councillors, and even the ministers of his household. The power thus gained was only temporary, yet was of extreme importance as giving an example that a future House of Commons might copy. Looking back to Edward II,

we recall that he had been supported by the Commons of his day against the Lords Ordainers; it was new, but quite natural, for the Commons now to profit by the mutual weakening of king and barons to assert themselves.

The rest of the reign is uneventful. There had been quarrels between two parties at the French court, and for many years there had been no war between England and France, whose king, Charles VI, was out of his mind. Henry IV died in 1413, still unhappy and harassed in all that he attempted, in spite of his triumph over the rebels at Shrewsbury.

HOUSE OF LANCASTER.


Henry III
Edward I
Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby : Monmouth
Thomas, married heiress of Earl of Lincoln, rebel, killed at Boroughbridge, 1322
Henry
Edward II
Edward III
Henry, first Duke of Lancaster
Black Prince
Lionel, Duke of Clarence
Richard II
Philippa
John of Gaunt = Blanche
Mary of Bohun, co-heiress of Earldoms of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, and of Brecknock = Henry IV
Henry V born at Monmouth
John Duke of Bedford
Humphrey Duke of Gloucester
Henry VI = Margaret of Anjou
Son: killed after Tewkesbury

HENRY V, 1413—1422

AGINCOURT, 1415.
TREATY OF TROYES, 1420.

Henry V had been known as Madcap Hal when he was Prince of Wales. Stories of his wildness when a young man are preserved for us by Shakespeare, and he is supposed to have had a companion in evil to whom the poet has given the name of John Falstaff, the drunken fat knight. He really had a friend called John Oldcastle, who was a Lollard and a fine man. It seems that the Church blackened the memory of Oldcastle, so that he appears in Shakespeare caricatured as Falstaff. The Henry of Shakespeare disowned Falstaff when he became king. The Henry of history allowed Oldcastle to be captured and burnt. The Lollards were now regarded as rebels, and we hear no more of them after this reign.

The French war renewed. Henry was an earnest and energetic king. Every one knows that he was a great soldier. He posed as the patriot who would renew the war against France and bring back the glories of Edward III. He was religious and expressed sorrow for the murder of Richard. But above all he was intensely ambitious. War would divert men's minds from the troubles of the last reign, would make them forget the rebellion and murder, and check the alarming growth of the power of the Commons.

No excuse was needed. Henry put forward the old claim of Edward III through his mother Isabella. But it was clearly absurd to demand the throne of France by a woman, and at the same time to be king of England by disregarding the similar claim of Edmund Mortimer. The very year of Agincourt saw a conspiracy got up by the Earl of Cambridge, younger brother of the Duke of York, and husband of Anne Mortimer, Edmund's sister. It was nipped in the bud, and Cambridge was executed; York fought and died for Henry at Agincourt.

Harfleur followed by Agincourt. Henry's war was quite unlike Edward's. Edward had fought in 1346 in a haphazard way, had won at Crecy when brought to bay, and then laid siege to Calais; Henry began with a siege and then fought a great battle. Edward's campaigns were little more than plundering raids. Henry set before himself a definite task, to conquer only a piece of France, namely Normandy, but to conquer that piece thoroughly. He started from Southampton in 1415, and at once besieged *Harfleur* with about 10,000 men, all of them paid. He captured the place by storm, though his men suffered much from sickness. With less than 5000 he then marched along the coast hoping to lure the French into risking a pitched battle, found the ford of Blanchetaque too strongly guarded, turned up the river Somme, and crossed it several miles inland. The French, under the king's son, the Dauphin (a title in France corresponding to our Prince of Wales), blocked his way, as he was advancing on Calais, at a little village called *Agincourt*. Thus the English fought with their faces to the north towards Calais. The road ran over a flat piece of ground only a quarter of a mile wide between two woods, and here the French were posted. Not only was the narrowness of the ground in Henry's favour, for the French were too crowded to fight well, but the earth was newly ploughed and drenched with rain. Stung by the volleys of arrows the French attacked; a few mounted

men on each wing were easily beaten; the mass of them on foot, as at Poitiers, floundered and slipped in the mud and sank in their heavy plate armour, so that the nimble English archers had no need to kill them, but only to knock them down. It was a crushing victory, won against very great odds. The date was October 25.

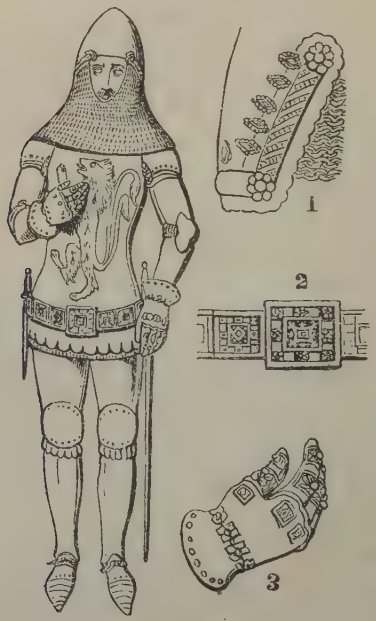


Plate armour and "camail" for the throat as worn at Agincourt

Treaty of Troyes; but war drags on. Henry did nothing more this year but return to England. In 1417 he went over again, and kept to his plan of conquering Normandy by degrees. At last Rouen fell. He made an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, a cousin of the French

king, but a bitter enemy of the Dauphin. In 1420 the French court made peace by the *Treaty of Troyes*, by which Henry was acknowledged as the heir to the French throne. Of course the Dauphin would not agree to this, but since Agincourt he was quite powerless, especially as the Burgundians sided with England. Henry married Catharine, Charles VI's daughter.

Complete plate armour; Wars of the Roses

Some Scots came over to help the Dauphin, and at Beaugé beat Henry's brother Clarence. Roused by this Henry undertook yet another invasion himself, but he died suddenly in 1422. He has left a great reputation as a warrior. Otherwise he did very little as king of England; he could not raise one pound without consent of Parlia-

ment, he had to pawn his jewels to pay his troops regularly, and the anxieties of war were too great even for him. He created a halo of glory for the Lancastrian name, which dazzled men's eyes and made them forget the murder of Richard. He will be always celebrated because of that noble speech which Shakespeare puts into his mouth just before the battle of Agincourt; he really did make some such speech[1], trusting that the God of battles would give him the victory, and boasting that the fewer men there were to fight, the greater would be their share of honour; Shakespeare took his real words and turned them into a long speech in blank verse. By this speech he will always live.

The methods of fighting had slightly altered since Crecy. Armour had become much heavier; in fact no chain-armour was worn at Agincourt except a little round the throat, and after Agincourt even that was superseded by a solid gorget. As a result the chief weapon of offence was a short heavy axe with which a knight hewed at his enemy. Arrows glanced off plate armour. But an archer, being armourless, could move quickly, and therefore when he dropped his bow and took to his side-arm, a heavy mallet, he might still prove the better man. A new weapon came into use for non-archer foot, namely the bill, a long pole with a blade and crook, with which a man could both push and strike.

In this reign Parliament, jealous as ever of foreigners having power in England, suppressed the "alien priories," that is to say religious houses of foreign monks dependent upon some mother-house or monastery in France or Burgundy.

[1] Henry's chaplain, whose name is not known, gives us this speech, and has described the battle for us as an eye-witness.

HENRY VI, 1422—1461

Siege of Orleans, 1428, 1429.
Loss of Normandy, 1450.
Wars of the Roses begin, 1455.
Wakefield, 1460. Towton, 1461.

Henry VI was a baby a few months old and as the mad king of France soon died, he was nominally king of both countries. John, Duke of Bedford, his uncle, was regent for him for thirteen years. The Dauphin, who of course claimed to be the true *King of France* in spite of the Treaty of Troyes, continued the struggle, and the French to the south of the Loire supported him. But the baby was acknowledged at Paris, and Bedford with a mixed army of English and Burgundians won more battles; he cut to pieces the French and Scots at *Verneuil* in Normandy. The war dragged on, and in 1428 the celebrated *siege of Orleans* began. In the course of the siege a small party of English under Sir John Fastolfe was bringing up a convoy of provisions to the besiegers, when some French suddenly attacked him at Rouvray; Fastolfe formed a laager of his waggons and beat them off; this is known as the battle of the Herrings, for the provisions of which he was in charge were chiefly fish.

Advent of the Maid of Orleans. It was extremely important for the French to save Orleans; placed on the right bank of the river Loire just where it makes a great

bend and comes nearest to Paris, it controlled the river valley. Now we first hear of that wonderful woman Joan of Arc. She came from Domrémi in the east of France. She had had visions from heaven, and it was to promise him the aid of heaven that she came to Charles. Her appearance gave to the French just the enthusiasm and belief in themselves which were lacking, for they could always outnumber the English. When she had been once recognised by Charles, she rode at the head of the troops dressed in armour, and inspired them with new hopes, and so irresistible was the spirit of her men that Orleans was saved. Then she won a battle close by at Patay, where Fastolfe was beaten and Lord Talbot taken prisoner. Soon she conducted Charles to Reims, where he was crowned as Charles VII.

After a year of excitement it is not very surprising that Joan lost her popularity. Men's minds soon change, and it was not long before the heroine with a divine mission came to be regarded as a witch. The study of such revulsion of feeling is not work for the ordinary historian; human nature baffles explanation. We must content ourselves with the simple assertion that Joan's spell ceased. She was finally captured by the Burgundians, handed over to the English and burnt as a witch at Rouen in 1431, while Charles and the French made not an effort to save her. He could have exchanged her for English prisoners, or threatened to burn them if the English touched her. But his cowardly desertion is beyond excuse; the Burgundians and the French of their party were more eager for her death than even the English; the English who burnt her were at least her open enemies.

Final loss of Normandy and Gascony. She had not lived and died in vain. Yet it was not till another twenty years that the English were finally driven out of France. Henry V had so thoroughly conquered Normandy that, even after the relief of Orleans, the English rule there

seemed quite secure. But the Normans were ready to turn against the English whenever they had the chance. Bedford died in 1435. His successor, his brother Humphrey of Gloucester, managed badly and offended the Burgundians who in their turn were reconciled to the French. Paris rose against Henry in 1436. Yet even then it was not till 1449 and 1450 that the combined French and Burgundians captured one by one the chief towns of Normandy. In the south the last battle was fought in 1453, not far from Bordeaux, at Châtillon. By this time the English held not a single place on French soil except Calais. The fact was that they had not enough men to hold their own.

Rise of the power of Burgundy. It will be easily understood that the Duke of Burgundy gained very great power as the price of his help to Charles and became practically an independent prince. Not only Artois and a good deal of north France were given up to the Duke, but also in various other ways, by marriage and purchase, nearly all the Netherlands came to him. Holland, Antwerp, Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, Namur and Luxemburg became the Burgundian Netherlands, though the great trading cities maintained their rights of self-government.

Civil war brewing in England. Turned out of France, and therefore left with nothing to do, the war-loving nobles very naturally turned to fighting each other in England. They thus satisfied their love of excitement and gave their followers something to do. It was a period of much disorder in England, mutual abuse as to who was responsible for failure in France, and private feuds between one noble and another. Thus the loss of Normandy was a cause of *the Wars of the Roses*. But it must be remembered that these wars concerned two parties of nobles who fought and killed each other, while the bulk of the people of England were not profoundly interested in what was going on. There was much discontent and anger because France had been lost, and this first led to a rising of

King's College Chapel, Cambridge

peasants in Kent under Jack Cade. Like Wat Tyler he was suppressed. But during both the long French war and the civil war now beginning the peasants gained more and more strength.

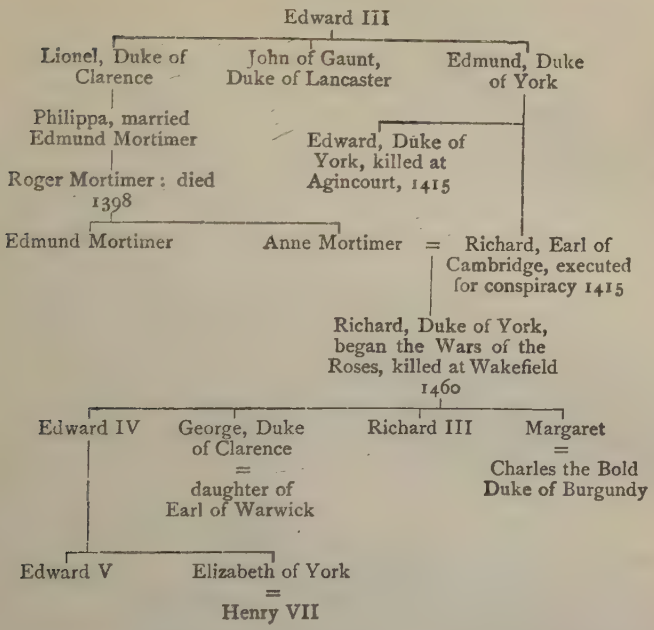
St Albans: Wakefield: Towton. Richard, Duke of York, was grandson of a younger brother of John of Gaunt, but through his mother Anne Mortimer he was descended from Lionel who had been the middle brother between the Black Prince and John of Gaunt. He was regarded as Henry VI's heir. But when at last a son was born to Henry and his French wife Margaret of Anjou, Englishmen saw that there was no chance of the feeble government being improved. War actually began in 1455 when Richard took Henry prisoner at St Albans. It appeared as if there would be no more trouble. But Queen Margaret collected her supporters in the north and overwhelmed the Yorkists at Wakefield in Yorkshire; Richard was slain, and with him his chief noble, the Earl of Salisbury, 1460.

The new leader of the party was York's son Edward; his great supporter was Salisbury's son, Richard Neville, who by right of his wife was Earl of Warwick and is always known as the King-Maker. After the great defeat of Wakefield Margaret and the Lancastrians marched on London, greatly offending the country people by plundering as they came. Warwick tried to stop their advance and was beaten in the second battle of St Albans. But young Edward reached London first, and so great was the hatred of the Londoners and the south of England in general against Margaret that in this very moment of defeat he was chosen as king under the title of Edward IV. Finally the Lancastrians retreated north again; Edward and Warwick pursued, came up with them near York, and cut them to pieces at Towton, 1461. Henry VI was not captured at once, but we count the reign of Edward IV as beginning in this year[1].

[1] Map, p. 277.

Magdalen College, Oxford

HOUSE OF MORTIMER—YORK.

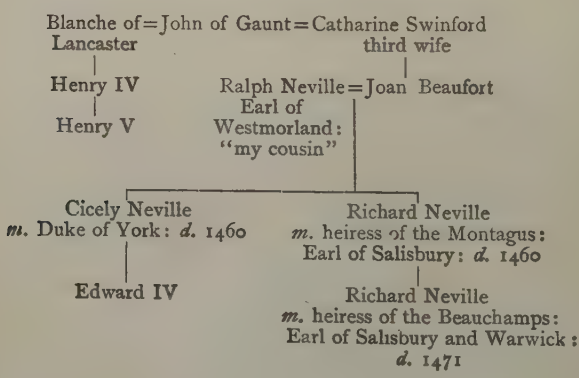

Edward III
Lionel, Duke of Clarence
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster
Edmund, Duke of York
Philippa, married Edmund Mortimer
Edward, Duke of York, killed at Agincourt, 1415
Roger Mortimer: died 1398
Edmund Mortimer
Anne Mortimer
Richard, Earl of Cambridge, executed for conspiracy 1415
Richard, Duke of York, began the Wars of the Roses, killed at Wakefield 1460
Edward IV
George, Duke of Clarence
daughter of Earl of Warwick
Richard III
Margaret
Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy
Edward V
Elizabeth of York
Henry VII

Artistic and Social improvement. The period of the Wars of the Roses is not only a long tale of dreary fighting. With Henry VI, as with the feeble Henry III, we associate a great foundation; he created the King's College at Cambridge and Eton College. The Perpendicular style of architecture was coming in. As the word suggests, in place of high-pitched pointed arches we now find the work carried out in long straight lines. In some buildings the effect is ugly, but at least the new style admitted more air and light. The perpendicular towers of Magdalen College at Oxford, founded by Bishop Waynflete, and of Gloucester Cathedral, are beautiful. St George's Chapel

at Windsor was entirely rebuilt in this style; and Henry VII built the chapel which bears his name at Westminster for the Knights of the Order of the Bath, as St George's had been built for the use of the older Order of the Garter.

As we said before, these wars hardly touched the life of the common people of England. Except when one of the rival armies passed by, as when Margaret marched on London after the battle of Wakefield, neither countryfolk nor townsfolk cared to take sides; on that occasion they supported Edward because Margaret's soldiers plundered. Similarly we shall find them quite ready to acknowledge Henry VII after Bosworth. All that they wanted was peace and security. In the country villeinage had practically died out, in spite of the Statute of Labourers; even before the Black Death of 1348 the peasants had been prospering, and, though both Wat Tyler and Jack Cade had been crushed, the cause for which they rose, the freedom of the peasantry, was won.

PEDIGREE OF THE KING-MAKER.


Blanche of Lancaster
John of Gaunt
Catharine Swinford third wife
Henry IV
Henry V
Ralph Neville Earl of Westmorland: "my cousin"
Joan Beaufort
Cicely Neville m. Duke of York: d. 1460
Edward IV
Richard Neville m. heiress of the Montagus: Earl of Salisbury: d. 1460
Richard Neville m. heiress of the Beauchamps: Earl of Salisbury and Warwick: d. 1471

HOUSE OF YORK, 1461—1485

EDWARD IV, 1461—1483

Towton, 1461. Barnet, 1471.
Treaty of Pecquigny, 1475.

RICHARD III, 1483—1485

Bosworth, 1485.

The king and the king-maker. The victory of Edward IV made him really popular. Every Englishman who loved peace and quiet, the middle classes, the peasants and artisans, wanted a king who could really rule. Thus though he got his throne by might and claimed it by right of primogeniture from Edward III, he was much more king by the general wish of the people that he should be king, a wish which now-a-days we call *Public Opinion*. But for the time being Warwick appeared to be a much stronger man than he. Warwick *the King-Maker* is also called *the Last of the Barons*, that is to say the last of the great nobles who by their private wealth and the soldiers that they raised and paid, by the power of vast estates and hosts of friends and retainers, were as strong as or stronger

than the king himself. Warwick was surrounded by a court more brilliant than the king's. His badge, the Bear and Ragged Staff, was displayed more than the Royal Arms. Either king or earl would have to give way. There was no room in England for both. A quarrel arose when Warwick wished Edward to marry a French princess, and Edward pleased himself by marrying an English lady, Elizabeth Woodville.

Edward's brother Clarence had married Warwick's daughter. So it was a good opportunity for Warwick to seek to revenge himself on the king by setting up Clarence against him. There were various ups and downs in the struggle which followed. First Warwick fled to Calais of which he was governor. Then he returned, and it was now Edward who fled and sought the protection of the Duke of Burgundy. But Warwick did not after all make Clarence king, and was foolish enough to restore Henry VI who had been in the Tower. There was very little love lost between Warwick and the Lancastrians, for such old enemies were naturally suspicious of each other. Edward returned, Clarence deserted to him, and at *Barnet*, just north of London, Warwick was defeated and slain. The same year Queen Margaret made a last effort, but was beaten at *Tewkesbury* at the junction of the Severn and the Avon. Margaret's son was murdered, next poor Henry was murdered, and, to complete the tale of slaughter, Clarence was afterwards murdered.

Home and Foreign Policy. After all these horrors Edward ruled undisputed, and not unpopular, for another twelve years. We can hardly admire him so much in his hour of vengeance as we admired him before in the Towton campaign. Yet he did good to England by bringing in an era of peace and of strong monarchical rule—an era commonly known as that of the "New Monarchy." This strong monarchy however had its bad points, as was evident when Edward chose to raise money by forced loans or *benevolences*

in place of grants by Parliament. He made alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, and gave to him his sister in marriage. He was made a Knight of the Golden Fleece, the famous Burgundian order of chivalry, and the Royal Arms of England may still be seen suspended among those of the knights of the order in the churches of Ghent and Bruges. You will remember that the Duchy of Burgundy had grown so strong as to become almost a rival of the Kingdom of France. It was thought that England and Burgundy were going to combine again for a new French war. But Edward drew back from this. He took an army over to France, only to make a treaty at once at *Pecquigny* on the Somme. Before long Charles the Bold was engaged in a war with the Swiss, by whom he was badly beaten and slain, as we read in Sir Walter Scott's *Anne of Geierstein.* The king of France was Louis XI, a clever intriguer, whose policy was to defeat his enemies by raising up other enemies against them. He got back the Duchy of Burgundy itself for France on Charles' death, and ruled over a France really strong and united. His character has been maligned in another of Scott's novels, *Quentin Durward.* The Burgundian Netherlands, by the marriage of Charles the Bold's daughter Mary, passed under the control of Austria.

End of the House of York. Edward IV was succeeded by his little son Edward V. But the boy's uncle, Richard Duke of Gloucester, was resolved to secure the throne for himself, and became king by the support of the Londoners as the notorious Richard III. He was an energetic king, and living at a period when might was right, he was not much worse than either Henry IV or Edward IV. He endeavoured to render his position secure by murdering the two little princes, Edward V and his younger brother, in the Tower; the crime was kept quite secret, and for long nobody really knew that it had been committed. Nor were they his only victims: just as Edward IV had had to

suppress Warwick, and Henry IV to fight against the Percies, so Richard III executed the Duke of Buckingham who had been his chief supporter and had won for him the throne.

But the story of civil war and conspiracy and murder is now coming to an end. Henry Tudor was the son of a Welsh baron by Margaret Beaufort, who was descended from John of Gaunt by his third wife, Catharine Swinford; thus he was the representative of the junior branch of the Lancastrian family, though there was something very strange in a Lancastrian claiming the throne through his mother. It little mattered now how anybody claimed the throne. Henry met and slew Richard III at *Bosworth* in Leicestershire. He then got a Parliament to declare him king. It was convenient to have the consent of Parliament. But it was conquest more than anything else that gave him his title to the throne; might was once more right. At the same time when we find king after king making Parliament sanction a successful revolt, even if it were a Parliament full of the rebel's own supporters, it was clear that a time would come when Parliament would award the throne in reality; but this did not occur till 1689. Between 1485 and 1689 there was indeed trouble about the succession, but no such war as that between Lancaster and York.

THE HOUSE OF TUDOR, 1485—1603

HENRY VII, 1485—1509

The Great Intercourse, 1496.

Henry VII was a strong king with Public Opinion at his back. There were risings against him, and two impostors caused some trouble. One was Lambert Simnel supposed to be the son of Clarence, and the other was Perkin Warbeck supposed to be the younger of the princes murdered in the Tower. Of the two Warbeck came the nearer to success when the men of Cornwall rose on his behalf, and he got aid from the Netherlands.

Strong Tudor Monarchical rule. Henry VII summoned few Parliaments. He raised forced loans or benevolences just like Edward IV. Moreover he had much private wealth, as he held all the estates of both the Houses of Lancaster and York. His minister Cardinal Morton is said to have invented a devise for raising money called *Morton's Fork*; a rich man was told that he had better spend less money on show, and so pay the king's loans; a thrifty man that of course he must have saved money, and so could afford to pay. At any rate the king always had enough money. He also steadily set himself to suppress *liveries* and *badges*: he would not allow any noble to keep armed retainers, wearing his own uniform or livery, and mounting his badge. This had been the great curse of England from the time of the Hundred Years' War, and it was now put down for ever. The noble families had been

much thinned out as well as weakened financially by the Wars of the Roses, and were in no position to assert themselves against the Crown. One of Henry's warmest supporters, the Earl of Oxford, who had been a devoted Lancastrian, was heavily fined for keeping retainers. If a king means to be king, he is compelled to punish even his friends, however ungrateful such treatment may appear. But Henry merely fined Oxford. Sir William Stanley, one of his most energetic warriors at Bosworth, he found himself obliged to execute for complicity with Warbeck.

The most famous institution of this reign is *the Court of the Star Chamber.* It was really a sort of committee of the king's Privy Council, and was composed of strong judges appointed by the crown with full power to try important cases without juries. Its chief duties were to supplement the ordinary law wherever that was gravely defective, as for instance in regard to libel, and to overawe nobles and others who could not be controlled by the ordinary courts. Such a court under a strong and upright king would be most beneficent, under a tyrant it might well become the instrument of his tyranny. The Star Chamber contributed to make the crown stronger, but in succeeding reigns it became very unpopular, though it certainly helped to keep England quiet and peaceful.

Thus the Tudors were the strongest line of kings since the days of the Great Charter, for even Edward I had been successfully thwarted by his barons, Edward III and Henry V had been great warriors, but had been restrained by Parliament at home, and the open attempt of Richard II to overawe opposition by a bodyguard of archers had been a failure. Edward IV, it is true, had been a really strong king; but though "the New Monarchy" began, as we have said, with the House of York, the most conspicuous of the new monarchs were the Tudors. Notice that, as the nobles were so weak, Henry gained his purpose without having to maintain any permanent army. The peasantry and farming

classes were extremely prosperous in this reign and freer than before from the objectionable interference of powerful neighbouring landowners. One of our chief historians[1] says that the 15th and early 16th centuries may be called "the

Long Melford Church, Suffolk

Golden Age of the English labourer." Another[2] says that the townsfolk were equally flourishing, and both the wool trade and the wool manufacture were in full swing. This prosperity was very apparent in Norfolk and Suffolk, where

[1] Professor Thorold Rogers. [2] Mrs J. R. Green.

you can still see many fine churches which were entirely rebuilt at this period by the prosperous wool-merchants. We have already mentioned Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster. His mother, Margaret Beaufort, founded both Christ's College and St John's College at Cambridge; her name is preserved by the Lady Margaret Professorship, and by other institutions at Cambridge.

Treaty with the Austrian Netherlands. To understand the foreign policy of Henry VII it is necessary to remember that Edward IV had been the ally of the Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold. The daughter of this Charles, Mary of Burgundy, was married to the Emperor Maximilian, of the Hapsburg dynasty of Austria, so that now *the Burgundian Netherlands* had become *Austrian*. It was natural enough for this Austrian House to support the impostor Perkin Warbeck who pretended to be Edward IV's son. But it was soon seen that whoever was Lord of Flanders, and whatever his nationality, he ought to be the ally of the king of England, whether Yorkist or Tudor, for the sake of the wool trade. So in 1496 a treaty of commercial alliance was made between Henry and Austria; it was called *the Great Intercourse*; England and Flanders were to trade freely and help each other to suppress piracy, while Perkin Warbeck was disowned.

Rise of the Power of Spain. Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary, married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. In previous reigns Spain had not been very important in comparison with the other nations of Europe. But Ferdinand and Isabella did a very great deal: they united the two separate kingdoms of Castile and Aragon; they established a strong and well organized standing army, and successfully fought the Moors of Granada. The capture of Granada in 1492 broke the power of the Mohammedans in Spain. In their reign also was first established a Spanish Inquisition against the Jews and Moors. Spain and the Netherlands being thus united

by marriage, Henry of England saw the advantage of allying himself with both; in 1501 he married his eldest son Arthur, Prince of Wales, to Catharine, younger daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella[1]. The young Prince soon died, and then Henry tried to arrange a marriage between Catharine and his second son Henry, but the plan was not immediately carried out. Another but equally important marriage was that between his daughter Margaret and James IV of Scotland in 1503. Of course at this date all such marriages had great political importance, and no doubt it was hoped that a marriage between the ruling families of Scotland and England would tend to weaken the hereditary alliance, now two centuries old, between Scotland and France.

From Medieval to Modern History. During this reign the Portuguese, who had for a century past been working down the coast of West Africa, turned the Cape and sailed direct to the East Indies. Christopher Columbus discovered the West India islands. Modern history has therefore now begun with a boundless prospect of wealth and adventure across the Indian and Atlantic oceans. Add to this that France and Spain are each of them united under a powerful monarchy, no longer a mass of little separate states; that the art of printing has been invented; that the use of gunpowder is leading to practical results, necessitating the scientific training of drilled national armies; that the revival of classical learning, the *Renaissance*, is active in Italy and ready to extend its influence into northern countries. We see that we have left behind us the Middle Ages.

[1] See p. 202 for the Burgundian-Spanish pedigree.

HENRY VIII, 1509—1547

Flodden, 1513. Solway Moss, 1542.
Battle of Pavia, 1525.
Act of Appeals; Cranmer Archbishop, 1533.
The Dissolution of the Monasteries, 1536—1539.

Probably about no other king of England has there been such a great difference of opinion as about Henry VIII. To some writers he appears as the bluff, jovial, manly king Hal, handsome and athletic, and a clever scholar; to others he is the coarse and brutal despot who thought of nobody and nothing but himself. But all agree that as he grew older he became more selfish, until he became a law unto himself and cared only to please himself. It was under such a man that the greatest revolution in all English history was brought about, a revolution of such importance that it required a tyrant, even a brutal tyrant, to accomplish it. His first act was to marry his brother's widow, Catharine of Aragon, having first obtained the proper *dispensation* or leave from the Pope. This marriage, it may be said, influenced the whole course of the reign.

War against Scotland and France. Henry joined his allies in a war against France. The only noticeable action was a skirmish dignified by the name of the battle of the Spurs in north France, at which some French cavalry were seized with sudden panic and ran away. More important was an invasion of the Scots into Northumberland,

for, in spite of the marriage of James IV with Henry's sister, the hereditary alliance between Scotland and France still held good. The Scots crossed the Tweed at the ford of Coldstream about sixteen miles up from Berwick, and posted themselves upon a ridge of hills called Flodden Edge. The English leader, the Earl of Surrey, marched right round them and cut them off from Coldstream. They came down to *Flodden Field* upon a lower slope, so that it came about that they fought with their faces towards Scotland. Though their left wing was successful, their centre and right were driven in and surrounded by the combined English bowmen and billmen; James IV and the flower of his nobility were slain, 1513. But except for some plundering raids into Scotland the English army did not follow up the victory.

Surrey belonged to an old family of Norfolk, the Howards; his father, on marriage with the heiress of the Mowbrays, had been created Duke of Norfolk, but the dukedom was forfeited when he fell leading Richard's van at Bosworth. It was restored to Surrey after Flodden. Both this title and the Earl Marshalship of England still belong to the Howard family, and the late duke officiated as Earl Marshal at the coronation of both Edward VII and George V. The Howards had been frequently admirals of the eastern fleets under Edward III, and Surrey's son who fought under him at Flodden was "admiral," as Scott tells us in *Marmion*.

Cardinal Wolsey and the Reformation. The most important man of the reign, though of humble birth, was Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York and Chancellor. Henry at first let him do almost what he pleased both at home and abroad. Under him Parliament was hardly ever called, and money was raised by forced loans. The Pope made him Cardinal and Legate, and with such powers he could do almost what he liked in the Church in England. He was very extravagant and fond of display, for which he

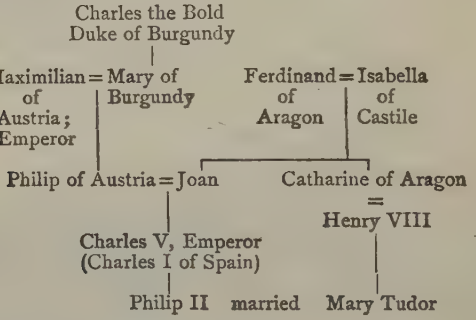
needed money; he himself held a great number of places or benefices in the church, and such a man we call a pluralist. His ambition was so notorious that in the play of *Henry VIII* a celebrated speech against it as his worst vice has been put into his mouth. But for all his ambition he was very clear-sighted. One of his chief ideas seems to have been to reform the Church in England in such a way that the great Protestant Revolution might not spread from

Christ Church, Oxford

Germany to England. It was in 1517 that Luther first attacked the Roman Church when he nailed up against the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg in Saxony his protest against the sale of Indulgences by agents of the Pope. In England Wolsey's first step was to suppress some of the smaller monasteries. He founded a celebrated college at Oxford which is now called Christ Church, and its crest is still a red cardinal's hat, a low hat with very wide brim and two strings ending in tassels. He also founded a school

Hampton Court, built by Wolsey, surrendered to Henry VIII. The gardens were laid out in Dutch style for William III

at Ipswich, his native town. All this meant that he would fight against Protestantism, not by means of the old fashioned monks, but by men educated at good schools and colleges. We have seen that colleges had been founded by William of Wykeham, Henry VI, Bishop Waynflete, Lady Margaret Beaufort, and many others during the last 150 years, and thus Wolsey was so far doing nothing new. But he was the first to suppress English monasteries[1]. He was also ambitious to become Pope, and doubtless, if elected, would have used his powers for the same purpose, to control the Reformation.



Military Ascendancy of Spain. We saw how in the last reign the crowns of Castile and Aragon were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, and how these rulers had conquered Granada. Their grandson inherited from them Spain and all the conquests of Spain, both in Italy and in the New World; through his other two grandparents he was master of the Netherlands and Archduke of Austria; by election he became Emperor. He is always known as Charles V, but in Spain he was Charles I. Of all his dominions the Netherlands were the richest, Spain the strongest. Spain was the first country in which was established a standing army of a modern type, regularly trained, and kept up to full strength by constant reinforce-

[1] See p. 180 for suppression of alien monasteries.

ments from its recruiting centres. But at most it was only 12,000 strong. The new firearms were greatly improved by the Spaniards, and with them modern warfare may be said to begin. The rest of Charles's dominions were too cumbrous and scattered, so that his power appeared to be more formidable than it really was. Following the old English policy of alliance with the master of the Netherlands, Henry had married his brother Arthur's widow who was Charles's aunt, Catharine of Aragon. Wolsey favoured alliance with Spain. But in 1525 the Spanish army won such a crushing victory over the French at *Pavia* in north Italy that Henry and Wolsey began to fear the growth of Spain. Accordingly they changed their policy, believing that it would not be wise to allow their old enemy France to become too weak and their ally Spain too strong. Thus it was owing to English influence that the French king, Francis I, who had been taken prisoner at Pavia, was released. This principle, of making alliances in order to prevent the predominance in Europe of any one state, is known as the principle of the *Balance of Power.*

The legality of Catharine's marriage. Henry had had to get a special dispensation from Rome to marry his brother's widow. They had several children, but of these only one, the Princess Mary, survived, and she was weak and ailing. No man can really understand another man's motives. But it would be hard not to believe that when Henry's conscience pricked him for having married his brother's widow, and when he thought that the death of his children was a judgment from heaven upon his marriage, he was deceiving both himself and others; he had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, and wanted to believe that he ought to be divorced from Catharine. At the same time he was becoming cold towards Charles V, Catharine's nephew. Cardinal Wolsey's policy is also somewhat puzzling. Did he really wish that Henry should be divorced, or did he say so to please him? At any rate Wolsey, if in favour of the

divorce, wished it to be obtained from the only power which men of that day considered to be competent to give it, namely the reigning pope. It was not easy to persuade a pope to annul what a previous pope had specially permitted. Moreover Charles V had just then entered Rome in triumph, and Pope Clement was a prisoner in his hands.

Another cardinal was sent to England to try the divorce question together with Wolsey. The queen appealed to Rome, and the two cardinals let the case go back to Rome. This at once led to Wolsey's downfall. Henry thought that he could have pronounced the divorce if he had wished, and no doubt Wolsey would have been in favour of it if Henry had then been willing to marry a French princess. But with Henry it was Anne or nobody. It was not very difficult to accuse the cardinal of treason under the old statute of *Praemunire* of Edward III's reign. He was stripped of his benefices, and finally he died on his way to trial. The chief existing memorial of Wolsey is Hampton Court, which he surrendered to Henry when he lost his favour, and it is now a royal palace.

Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer. Henry's new counsellor was Thomas Cromwell, and it is he to whom Wolsey is supposed to make his famous speech referred to above:

> "Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition.
> .....O Cromwell, Cromwell,
> Had I but served my God with half the zeal
> I served my King, he would not in mine age
> Have left me naked to mine enemies."

His sister was great-grandmother of Oliver Cromwell. He seemed to be ready to do anything for Henry, however unpleasant. Another adviser was Thomas Cranmer, a Cambridge man; and he too was remarkably pliant to the king's will. He advised an appeal to the doctors of law in the various *Universities* of Europe. Here again is a difficulty, for it is hard to see by what right a professor of

law can decide a question of religion, and till then nobody had questioned that marriage and divorce were religious questions, such as only a pope could decide. Henry now wanted to argue that the pope who had permitted him to marry Catharine had no right to grant the permission. What would have happened if the Reformation had not been successful in Germany no one can say. But Luther had shown the way to defy Rome. If Luther could challenge papal doctrines, Henry could disown papal supremacy in England.

Parliament: the break with Rome. Henry was a remarkably strong king, chiefly owing to his father's methods and institutions. He had no standing army to enforce his will, yet he did enforce it upon the nation. In 1529 he summoned a Parliament, which sat at intervals for seven years; the old system had been to dissolve each Parliament after a single session, and summon a new one when the next occasion required. Henry completely overawed this Parliament, though it is quite possible that a great many of its members were only too glad to plunder the Church. Under Henry's direction they attacked the clerical courts, the custom of paying the first-fruits to Rome, the right of appealing to Rome, and so on; to put it shortly, Parliament carried out the king's wishes, step by step, in denying all political power to Rome in England. The *Act in restraint of Appeals* in 1533—a far stronger act than Edward III's Praemunire—declared that no decision of an English court could be questioned abroad. Just at this time the Archbishop of Canterbury died. Henry promptly nominated Cranmer, the pope recognised him, and Cranmer held a court at Dunstable at which he pronounced, not that Catharine could be divorced, but that she had never been legally married to Henry. He had already by this time married Anne Boleyn.

Two important Acts of Parliament followed. The *Act of Supremacy* declared Henry Supreme Head of the Church

Ightham Moat, Kent

in England, thus definitely repudiating the claims of the Pope. The first-fruits were naturally enough claimed for the king. He had undisputed power to nominate his own bishops; a form was maintained by which the cathedral clergy were supposed to be free to elect, but as a matter of fact neither then nor ever since has the sovereign's choice of a bishop been disputed. The other was the *Act of Succession*, by which the throne was conferred upon Anne Boleyn's child Elizabeth. An oath was demanded from those in authority to recognise Henry as the Supreme Head, and Elizabeth as heiress. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher of Rochester were executed for refusing to take the oath.

More had been chancellor since Wolsey's fall, and is celebrated for his book *Utopia*, an account of an imaginary No-man's-land where the government is perfectly ordered and all people are virtuous and happy, in contrast with the existing state of England. He, and Erasmus, and Dean Colet, the founder of St Paul's School, are known as the Oxford Reformers; their aim had been to effect a Reformation of the Church from within, not to attack it violently as Luther did from without.

The state of the Monasteries. Then Henry and Cromwell proceeded to attack the monasteries. There were a very large number of religious houses belonging to various orders of monks or friars or nuns. Each monastery was governed by the rules of its own order. They were free from the ordinary discipline of the Church; that is to say they were governed by their own heads and not by the bishops of the dioceses; but they acknowledged the Pope as Supreme Head. Most monasteries were very wealthy, for during the course of centuries many men had bestowed lands upon them for the good of their souls. Very often the abbots and monks were good landlords, good practical farmers, and great breeders of sheep for the wool market. This is particularly true of the Cistercians, to whom be-

longed some of those abbeys of which the ruins are so much admired to-day by travellers and tourists, such as Fountains in Yorkshire and Tintern on the Wye. On the whole these monks were popular with their neighbours to whom they brought wealth. But other houses, especially those in the towns, stood quite apart from the general life of the people. In the past they had done a great deal for education, but at this period newer ideas of education had been spreading. There was also much jealousy between the monks and the parish priests; in some villages the parish church was in the hands of a neighbouring monastery. But the monks' greatest enemies were the landowners, who grudged them their wealth and coveted their lands. It is beyond doubt that in many cases the monasteries were not half full, perhaps some forty or fifty monks living where 300 years earlier there might have been two hundred. Also laziness and lack of education were far too common. They lived too much out of sight, and what we do not see we are apt to think must be very wicked.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries. Henry appointed commissioners to go round and examine the monasteries. He expected these men to make a report against them, and naturally enough a strong report was sent in accusing them of all sorts of wickedness. The monks and nuns were said to have confessed to such wickedness; doubtless they had had a hint that if they confessed they would be treated leniently. At any rate the commissioners' report gave Henry and Cromwell the opportunity to carry through in 1536 an Act of Parliament suppressing the smaller monasteries. Later—in 1539—the larger houses, which were the better conducted, were also swept away. Several abbots who refused to turn out were hanged. Somewhat scanty pensions were given to the homeless refugees. But there are glaring cases of monks, who were considered to be far too wicked to remain monks, yet who on giving up their monasteries and lands were

promptly appointed to be cathedral clergy. The *Pilgrimage of Grace* is the name we give to a rising in the northern counties in favour of the monasteries; the insurgents were quieted by fair words, but afterwards very many were executed without mercy.

What Happened to Monastery Lands. With the confiscated lands of some monasteries Henry created six new bishoprics. But most of the estates were given or sold to favourites; the Russell family obtained Woburn in

Camber Castle in Sussex, near Rye; one of Henry VIII's forts for coast-defence

Bedfordshire, Tavistock in Devon, and a convent near London of which the name survives to-day in Covent Garden. The men who got all this new wealth were mostly of new families, that is to say their ancestors had not been prominent barons in preceding reigns, though often of Norman descent. There is no need for us to accuse them all of unrighteous dealings in thus accepting what was mere plunder. The Russells have done far more good to England at large, and to the farmers of Bedfordshire and Devon in

particular, than the monks whom they turned out, for they have always been good and practical patrons of farming. But theirs is a somewhat rare case. Much of the money with which Henry thus enriched himself was devoted to the needs of the navy and to coast defence; the abbey bells were melted down for cannons, and the lead stripped off the roofs was converted into ammunition. Schools for

"The Great Harry"

pilots were founded, as at Deptford; it is said that the clever seamanship of Elizabeth's sailors was first learnt here. But when we have said this, it remains that the confiscation carried out by Cromwell was bad in itself and promoted a bad spirit of greed.

The Question of Religious Doctrine. Lastly, Henry forced through Parliament *The Six Articles*. He

had himself taken the place of the Pope, and objected to freedom of thought in matters of doctrine. By this Act, which was simply Henry's own will imposed upon the nation, belief was required in six things: Transubstantiation, the actual change of the bread and wine into Christ's Body and Blood; Communion in one kind, that is bread only for the laity, the wine being reserved for the priests; Prayers for the dead; Confession to priests; Celibacy of the clergy; the Duty of observing their Vows incumbent on monks and nuns. Cranmer put away his wife in obedience to Henry's decree.

Henry's Marriages: Fall of Cromwell. It was not long before Henry tired of the frivolous Anne Boleyn, got Cranmer to divorce her, beheaded her, and married Jane Seymour. Jane had a son Edward and died. Some time later Cromwell persuaded him to marry a German princess, Anne of Cleves, with a view to forwarding an alliance with the minor German sovereigns who were opposed to Charles V. This lady was not beautiful enough to please Henry, and Cranmer had to be again called in to pronounce a divorce. The king's anger was very bitter and serious against Cromwell. Parliament slavishly passed an *Act of Attainder*, on a trumpery accusation of treason, against Cromwell; that is to say, it was declared by Act of Parliament that Cromwell's blood was tainted and that he was unfit to live. Such a process, though carried out by Commons and Lords and sanctioned by the Crown, is nothing more or less than a denial of justice. Cromwell was very unpopular, though he had enriched many men by abbey lands, and there can have been few to pity him. He had served Henry for a time, sometimes in unpleasant ways, and Henry threw him over when he had no more need of him. Next Henry married Catharine Howard of the noble family of Norfolk, procured her divorce through Cranmer, and sent her to be beheaded. Lastly he married Catharine Parr, a lady of really fine character, who was able to manage him,

and outlived him; we chiefly commend her because she alone treated with kindness the unhappy Princess Mary.

Later Policy: Scotland and France. In connection with these marriages, and especially the Cleves and Howard marriages, political questions came up. The relatives of each wife or the supporters of each marriage had their own views of politics, and wanted to get their own rewards from the king. You will remember that the divorce of Catharine of Aragon followed after Henry's breaking off his alliance with Spain, because the Spanish army had been winning victories over the French, and thus threatening to disturb the "Balance of Power." The English in general did not like the break with Spain, for there was much trade both with that country and with the Spanish Netherlands. Moreover Henry was quite inconsistent; Spain, France, the German Princes, were sought as allies by him in turn, and deserted in turn. Alliance with England was not greatly valued at this date. We had no standing army such as Spain had; the nobles were no longer allowed to keep retainers, and in consequence Henry had no good troops; levies of militia from the counties were untrained mobs without discipline. Moreover when Henry did collect an army it was armed in the old fashion with bills and bows, good enough to fight the Scots at Flodden, but not to face the trained musketeers of Spain, if such a need had arisen. Of one such army a foreign critic said that the only good soldiers were the Northern Horse, who had had much experience in border raids.

At the end of the reign Henry fought France once more and captured *Boulogne*. But the army chiefly distinguished itself by pitiless plundering. A French fleet came to Spithead, but was unable to effect a landing. An invasion of Scotland led to the rout at *Solway Moss* of James V, son of the James killed at Flodden and of Henry's sister Margaret. He had done much to suppress the turbulent Scottish barons, and they in revenge gave him no support

in this disastrous battle. Solway Moss is at the western entrance to Scotland, just beyond the Border. James V died soon afterwards, leaving Scotland to an infant, the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. In the meanwhile the kingdom was governed by her widowed mother, Mary of Guise.

The Age of Explorations. The Portuguese had been engaged for a century in working down the west coast of Africa, and finally reached the Cape and India; the Spaniards, after the discoveries of Columbus, quickly conquered Cuba, Mexico and the Isthmus of Panama, and on the other side Peru and Chile. Pope Alexander VI drew a dividing line between the Portuguese and Spanish areas of conquest; it was finally fixed at what we should call 45° W. of Greenwich. The elbow of Brazil thus went to the Portuguese; it is worth remembering that owing to winds and currents a sailing ship could make a quicker passage to India by crossing first to Brazil and thence to the Cape. Meanwhile John Cabot, a Genoese of Bristol, had sailed in 1498 in search of a north-west passage to India round North America. He had previously discovered Newfoundland or some region in that neighbourhood earlier in the reign of Henry VII. His son Sebastian explored southwards for Henry VIII. Adventurers and fishermen were attracted to the cod-banks of the north. William Hawkins sailed into the south Atlantic. There were plenty of Englishmen alive to the importance of discovery, but their efforts were spasmodic. Meanwhile the chief centre of European trade was no longer Venice, nor any port of the Mediterranean; the commerce of Spain and Portugal was centred at Cadiz and Lisbon, thence was carried round by the Atlantic to Flanders, and from Antwerp on the tidal and deep Schelde was redistributed through Europe.

Wales and the Welsh Marches. You will remember that Edward I after annexing Llewelyn's principality

created a few counties, yet without calling upon them to send members to Parliament; and that he had wished to suppress the rights to independence claimed by the lords marchers. The House of Lancaster possessed a great deal of land in the marches, especially Monmouth and Brecknock; the House of York, through the Mortimers, possessed also a great deal in the middle marches. All

Holbein's Earl of Surrey as type of costume during Henry's reign

Sir W. Russell, Elizabethan courtier

these were now in the hands of Henry VIII. So he was able to do what Edward I had wished; that is, he suppressed the special march rights. He created eight new counties, each, except Glamorgan, named after an important castle; these eight counties, the five of Edward's creation, and the county palatine of Chester, henceforward sent members to the House of Commons. To maintain

order and prevent rebellion Henry greatly strengthened the *Council of Wales*, and gave it also power over the adjoining English counties. It met at Ludlow or Shrewsbury, and acted as a sort of Star Chamber for this district. Similarly when there occurred in Yorkshire the Roman Catholic rising, which was known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, he strengthened an older *Court of the North*, so as to make it also like the Star Chamber.

War in Ireland: Title of King. Henry VII had by an act, called *Poynings' Law* from his deputy in Ireland, Sir Edward Poynings, made the English Council and the English Parliament supreme over the Parliament in Dublin. But only a small district round Dublin within what was called the English Pale was really subject to England. The native Irish and the Anglo-Norman chieftains descended from Strongbow's comrades were independent, yet quite unable to unite and form a national government. Henry VIII began a policy of war and conquest, especially against the Fitzgeralds. But he fell between two stools; he should have fought more strenuously, which meant greater expense than he felt that he could afford, or not at all. He was the first to call himself King of England and Ireland.

Social Revolution in England. During all this reign England had been getting gradually into a very bad condition. For one cause of this Henry's government was not responsible, namely the *conversion of corn land into pasture*. Much land which had been open to the use of the villagers was enclosed and taken by the lords as their own. For this the instinct which makes a man wish to gain wealth quickly was responsible. A great many men are required to plough and sow and cut corn on an estate, where a few shepherds would suffice to look after a large flock of sheep. The wool was very valuable, and could be worked into cloth in England or exported to Flanders. As

a result more and more farm labourers were thrown out of work.

For the *suppression of the monasteries* and the granting of monastery lands to the king's favourites, many of them upstarts of humble birth who were in a hurry to get rich and were much more grasping as landlords than the old monks, Henry's government was directly responsible. Moreover when confiscation once begins there is no saying where it will stop; money can only be seized once, and therefore when more money is wanted it is necessary to find new lands to seize for new needs. There was a great deal of other Church property which could be confiscated, and steps were being taken to seize it when Henry died.

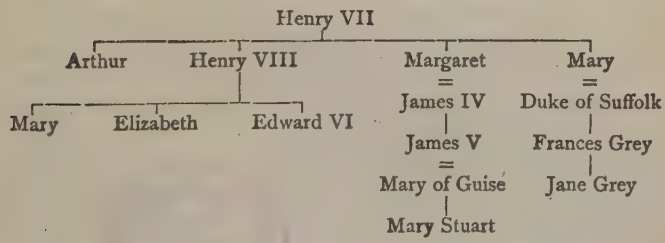
But one of the worst things for the prosperity of the country which Henry did was his *debasement of the coinage*. Base metal was mixed with silver, at first in small proportions; but here again it is difficult to stop when once an evil has begun, for it is so tempting to add just a little more bad metal and a little less silver at each new coinage. Nothing upsets the general security of trade more than bad money; neither buyer nor seller is satisfied. Finally even the actual harm done, the poverty caused by violent spoliation, is not so great an evil in itself as the spirit of grasping and restless greed which it encourages.

Poor relief had been almost entirely in the hands of the monasteries. After their dissolution a series of acts were passed which attempted to grapple with the problem, and especially with the dangers arising from the presence of many "valiant and sturdy beggars" who wandered over the country. The most systematic attempt to deal with poverty was the Poor Law enacted towards the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1601.

To counterbalance the harm that Henry did we find that he left behind him certain fortresses which made our southern coasts more secure, many ships which were the

nucleus of our modern Royal Navy, an improved artificial harbour at Dover, and a school for navigation. But to do this he exhausted the strength of England, for he did it by spending the capital of the country. The weakness of Edward VI and Mary, the glaring inequality between the great wealth of the few and the poverty of the many, the existence of the swarms of sturdy beggars, all this gives the answer to those who admire Henry as a strong patriotic king. Also it is absurd to suppose that all the treasure that he seized, for instance the many cartloads carried off from the shrines of Glastonbury and Canterbury, was spent on ships and forts. Yet the same historians who admire him sneer at Charles I, whose "iniquitous" ship-money was at least a tax upon national income and did not exhaust capital.

Henry had been allowed by Parliament to nominate his successors. He fixed the order, in case of each successor dying childless, thus: Edward, Mary, Elizabeth, the descendants of his sister Mary and the Duke of Suffolk, the descendants of Margaret and James IV of Scotland.



EDWARD VI, 1547—1553

Lord Protector Somerset: Pinkie. There was no dispute about the succession. Edward VI, son of Henry and Jane Seymour, born after the death of Catharine of Aragon, was at once accepted. He was ten years old, and his uncle Edward Seymour was *Lord Protector* with the title of Duke of Somerset. He was a steady and clear-headed man, but he was quite unable to control the Lords of the Privy Council, whose chief aim was to enrich themselves. His first object was to secure the betrothal of the boy king to the five-year-old queen of the Scots. He invaded Scotland along the coast road by way of Berwick and Dunbar, and beat the Scots at *Pinkie*, a few miles east of Edinburgh. The marriage was very much disliked in Scotland, and it was asked if Somerset would have desired it in the opposite case, that is if the lass had been English and the lad a Scot. The manner of the wooing was more objectionable still. So Mary was at once sent off to France and betrothed to the Dauphin.

Progress of the Reformation. The strong reformers now entirely got their own way. The confiscation of chantries, where masses were said for the souls of the dead, and to some of which were attached schools, had been threatened by Henry VIII; it was now carried out. Almost every village had for centuries past had a guild,

that is a club to which the villagers contributed money as now to benefit societies, to secure themselves against sickness and old age, and for other purposes, such as feasting. Many churches had valuable plate and vestments. All such sources of wealth were now attacked. One of our chief historians[1] calls this *the Great Spoliation*, and says that it caused far more misery than the suppression of the monasteries. The general excuse was that the chantry priests were "meanly learned," and the money confiscated was to be spent upon good education. But whatever Somerset may have intended, very little indeed of the property went to either universities or schools. The *King Edward VI schools*, Shrewsbury, Sherborne, Birmingham and others, represent to-day a mere fraction of what might have been done. Somerset is himself not so much to be blamed, for he fell from power before the spoliation was complete. Yet he, too, acquired a piece of church land, and began to build a mansion where the present Somerset House now stands on the "Strand" between the Temple and Savoy House.

The reformation of doctrine was also taken in hand. We owe to this reign our *Book of Common Prayer*. The violence of the reforming movement was such that no man could tell what he ought to believe. What the King ordered was true doctrine; but which King? Under Henry VIII all men were ordered to accept the Six Articles; to refuse to believe in prayers for the dead was treason. Now when a child was the supreme head of the Church, prayers for the dead were decreed to be wicked, and villagers were robbed of their guilds because they prayed for the dead. The mass was abolished, services were ordered to be read in English, pictures and windows to be destroyed, and the altar to be removed from the east end to the middle of the church and to be called a

[1] Dr Augustus Jessopp.

communion table. The clergy were allowed to marry, a thing forbidden by Henry VIII. But Somerset and his party were not eager persecutors; even the strong Roman Catholic Bishops, Gardiner and Bonner, were not executed, but only imprisoned.

Peasant Revolts: Somerset removed. Somerset's chief opponent was the Earl of Warwick, of the family of Dudley. He thought that Somerset was going too slowly and intrigued against him. Two revolts broke out. One was in Cornwall in favour of the old Church and the restoration of the mass. Lord Russell put down the rebels with considerable cruelty after a fierce fight near Exeter, at St Mary's Clyst, where the peasants with old-fashioned bows and bills were with difficulty defeated by foreign mercenaries. The other revolt was in Norfolk and Suffolk, and was caused rather by the enclosure of common lands than by the religious changes; Warwick suppressed the peasants with the same difficulty and the same severity on Mousehold hill just outside Norwich. These risings gave Warwick the excuse to turn against Somerset as far too mild a man to be regent. In 1549 Somerset was removed; and in 1552 he was executed, nominally on an obscure charge of treason, but really because he was becoming popular again.

Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey. The Earl of Warwick was now made Duke of Northumberland. His son Guilford Dudley was married to Lady Jane Grey, cousin of King Edward and grand-daughter of Mary Tudor and the Duke of Suffolk. Northumberland is certainly one of the most unpleasant figures in history. He was most conspicuous of all those who disgraced the Reformation by making it an excuse for plunder. Had Somerset been stronger he would have used the property confiscated from the church for the benefit of education and religion, or at least a certain proportion of it; it was under Northumberland that this booty was finally left in the hands of the

unscrupulous few. He lost Boulogne to the French. He debased the coinage further. Finally he persuaded Edward, then sixteen years old, to declare Lady Jane his successor. Parliament had allowed Henry VIII to nominate his successors; but Edward and Northumberland had no legal power to alter the order fixed. If Henry's order was wrong, and if neither Mary nor Elizabeth could be chosen because of disputes about their birth, Mary Queen of Scots was next in the direct succession, not Lady Jane.

Calvin and the Reformed Church. The Reformation entered upon its second stage in the middle of the century. Luther had attacked the right of any pope to sell, or even to grant, Indulgences, and had almost broken the religious supremacy of Rome north of the Alps. But he had not founded such a reformed system of church government and of doctrine as would be acceptable to Protestants of all nationalities. Henry VIII, backed by a subservient Parliament, had made himself the head of the Church of England, and had enforced the Six Articles. But the real creator of an organized Reformed Church was *John Calvin of Geneva*, whose idea was to go back to the *pure* simple teaching of the New Testament and create a Church according to what he believed was the system of the first apostles, a Church without bishops under the rule of presbyters or elders who were laymen, having authority to control the morals of the people and to enforce godliness; there were to be no symbols, such as images or crosses or the ring in marriage; no doctrines that had been added by Roman influence to the teaching of Christ and St Paul. These were the marks of the *Eglise Réformée*, the Presbyterian or *Puritan Church*, adopted by the Swiss of Geneva and the Protestant cantons, by the Huguenots of France, by some German states, and later by the Scots and the Dutch. In England it will be seen that the reformers of Edward VI's reign were partly influenced by Calvinism, partly by Henry VIII's views.

The Counter-Reformation. But in the meanwhile the Roman Catholics had rallied wonderfully. Seeing that the worldliness of the Church and the sales of Indulgences had given to Luther his first opportunity, the popes set to work to get rid of abuses, and devoted themselves to win back heretics by reform within the Church, and by persecution if need be. At least Spain was loyal to Rome, and had a strong army and the wealth of the Indies at her back. Protestantism was never very popular in France; in south and west Germany the tide was on the turn. A *Council* was held at *Trent* in the Austrian Tyrol, a town on the most important high road between Italy and Germany, where the methods to oppose Protestantism and to purify the Church were discussed. But the greatest instrument in the work of restoring the power of Rome was the *Order of Jesus*, founded by a Spaniard named Ignatius Loyola. The Jesuits were not ordinary priests under the control of bishops and cardinals. Their head was the General of their Order, and they were auxiliaries to the parish priests, missionaries who were sent to this or that place where their General thought they could do most good, to palaces or to cottages, where they could convert or confirm the learned and the unlearned. Enthusiasts for the Church were swept into their ranks. They were "all things to all men," and their preaching and teaching brought back thousands to the Roman communion. But there has been very much jealousy against them, and the common belief that they hold the doctrine that "the end justifies the means," that, for example, everything is lawful by which they could win men to Rome, has made them unpopular. The movement of reform within the Roman church is known as the *Counter-Reformation*. It was when this movement was in progress that Mary Tudor became Queen of England, and married the Roman Catholic Philip of Spain.

MARY, 1553—1558

Fires of Smithfield and Oxford, 1555.

Lady Jane: Wyatt's Rebellion. When Edward died Northumberland's intrigue proved quite useless. His selfishness was too apparent. Mary received considerable support, and without fighting she was made Queen. Northumberland was executed, Guilford Dudley and Lady Jane were kept under restraint. Mary's chief adviser was the Spanish ambassador, by name Renard, and with his help she at once restored Gardiner and Bonner to their bishoprics, and imprisoned Cranmer and Latimer. She proclaimed the restoration of the mass and refused to acknowledge the married clergy. Renard proposed that she should marry Philip of Spain, son of Charles V. This led immediately to a rising in Kent, under Sir Thomas Wyatt, but Mary faced the danger boldly. Wyatt's troops deserted him and he was captured just outside London. The only result of the revolt was that Guilford Dudley and Lady Jane were executed, and even Elizabeth's life was for a time in danger.

The Marian Persecution. Mary now felt herself strong enough to declare openly for the old Church. Philip came to England in 1554, and the marriage was celebrated; but he was allowed no power as king consort. Next arrived in England Cardinal Pole, who was the grandson of Clarence the brother of Edward IV. He brought with him a papal

absolution of the kingdom of England for the protestant acts of the last reign. Next year persecution began. A clergyman named Rogers was the first martyr, then followed Bishop Hooper of Gloucester, then Ridley and Latimer, who were burnt at Oxford, and finally Cranmer. At first Cranmer had recanted, but in any case Mary intended that he should die because it was he who had declared her mother's marriage illegal. There were not after all very many burnings, about three hundred in all. But the feelings of the nation were very strongly roused. If under Edward VI Protestantism was tainted by the "reformers'" love of spoliation, under Mary Romanism was identified with the horrible torture of burning. England rang with the words of Latimer: "We shall this day light a candle which by God's grace shall not be put out." But while Mary was, as it were, allowed by the leading men of England to restore the mass and to persecute bishops and other innocent persons, they showed her pretty clearly that they did not intend to allow her to restore any of the church lands or refound the monasteries. They were mean enough to let the earnest and pious men be burnt for their doctrines, while they kept for themselves the proceeds of the late spoliation.

The loss of Calais. The memory of Mary Tudor is always connected with the martyrdoms and with the loss of Calais. Alliance with Spain meant war with France, and the Duke of Guise captured the harbour and fortress which had been England's gateway into France, whether for wool or for armies, since 1347. Deserted by her husband Philip, childless, grieved to the heart by this last blow, she sank and died in the autumn of 1558. She had had a bitter and miserable girlhood; the hopes which she must have felt when first she came to the throne had been disappointed. She had not restored the Roman Church to its old estate, but had only burnt some of the best and most honest of her opponents. So we must leave her.

ELIZABETH, 1558—1603

1568. Mary Stuart seeks refuge in England.
1578. Drake sails through the Straits of Magellan.
1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1598. Death of Philip of Spain.

The Settlement of the Church. Elizabeth succeeded according to Henry's will. The position of the Church was finally settled. By a *new Act of Supremacy* the Sovereign was called "supreme governor of this realm...as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal" and not the "supreme head" as Henry had been. By an *Act of Uniformity* the order of public worship was regulated. A Prayer Book somewhat modified from Cranmer's, Thirty-nine Articles of Faith and Religion, services entirely in English, the Communion Table placed in the body of the church, a certain very moderate use of vestments, and of course the maintenance of the Bishops, who were appointed by the Sovereign in reality though by the Cathedral clergy nominally; these were the distinguishing marks of the new settlement. Holders of extreme views, whether Puritans or Roman Catholics, objected. Yet the majority of the nation appear to have been satisfied. Indeed, had either set of extremists got the upper hand, there would have been civil war; but for over eighty years from Elizabeth's accession England was saved from that.

Roman Catholics were fined for non-attendance at church and were called "recusants." The mass was

declared illegal and could therefore only be celebrated in private. The Pope never abandoned his claim to supremacy in England, and it was this claim that led to persecution of Roman Catholics, especially after 1570, when a papal "bull" declared Elizabeth excommunicated and plots were formed to assassinate her.

On the other hand many Protestants, who had fled to Switzerland to escape Mary's persecution, now brought back with them to England the ideas of Calvin. They called themselves Puritans, but it would be less confusing to use the word "Presbyterian," because "Puritan" may be applied to other later sects and indeed to any religious body of marked strictness or pureness of life. They wished to see an established and uniform Church, provided it was of a Calvinistic pattern, acknowledging the supremacy of no Sovereign, having no fixed Prayer Book, no symbols or vestments, and no Bishops. If they had had their way, congregations would have chosen their ministers and elders or Presbyters, and would have sent members to a General Assembly, which would have formed a kind of House of Commons for religious matters; a democratic form of government and naturally distasteful to Elizabeth. They would have persecuted those who disagreed with them, and claimed the right to interfere in private life and to punish for wrong-doing; such interference, which was practised both in Switzerland and in Scotland, is distasteful to the ordinary Englishman. Apparently a good many Puritanical clergy accepted the Act of Uniformity, hoping that further changes might be made towards the Presbyterian views; at least they were satisfied with the position of the Communion Table, and if they did not like the use of a surplice they put up with it. A sect of "separatists," who were known as the Brownists, disliked both Bishops and Presbyters. To rule the reformed Church Elizabeth established the *Court of High Commission* in 1583, a sort of Star Chamber for religious matters.

Later in Elizabeth's reign we begin to hear of the doctrine of *the Divine Right of Kings*. The king is ordained of God, and therefore the succession cannot be altered; he can do no wrong; resistance to him is wicked. "No Bishops, no King," was the Stuart ideal. This doctrine, and Archbishop Laud's attempt to make the services more ornate and more reverential, contributed largely to our civil war. But Elizabeth, while effectively asserting her supremacy in Church government, did not push her views so far as to give any cause for civil war.

Mary Stuart's claim to England. England was in great danger. Calais had been lost, there was practically no navy, and no means of arming the nation. Elizabeth had to rely upon her wits, and on the advice of her cautious statesman Sir William Cecil. The danger was from Scotland and France in alliance. If her sister Mary, daughter of Catharine of Aragon, had been the queen of England, then, Elizabeth as daughter of Anne Boleyn was illegitimate and had no claim to the throne except by Henry VIII's will. If that were set aside, the true heiress was Mary Stuart, granddaughter of James IV and Margaret Tudor Henry VIII's eldest sister. She was Queen of Scots, and her Roman Catholic mother Mary of Guise was acting as regent for her in Scotland. Her husband, the Dauphin in 1558, became King Francis II of France in 1559. Queen of Scotland and France, and Queen by right of birth of England, she was a dangerous rival. Therefore Elizabeth had to look to Philip of Spain as her ally, and there was even talk of her marrying him; a very curious state of affairs, for not only was Philip a strong Catholic, but it was quite out of the question for Elizabeth to marry her sister's widower. The daughter of Anne Boleyn could not but believe that this would be as wrong as for her father to marry his brother's widow. As regards marriage it may be at once said that she feared to share her power with anyone. If she were fond of any

man at all, that man was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, brother of Guilford Dudley, and she knew perfectly well that he had married Amy Robsart; in representing that this marriage was a secret and in much else Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth* is not historical, and indeed the whole of *Kenilworth* is a jumble of inaccuracies; but it is true that Amy died mysteriously.

Danger from Scotland averted. Elizabeth was saved from anxiety from Scotland by a religious war. The Scots had rather suddenly adopted the Presbyterian views. Their great leader and preacher John Knox, who had returned from Geneva, wrote a fierce pamphlet against the "Monstrous Regiment [or Government] of Women"; it was aimed at the rule of Mary of Guise. Many Scottish nobles were strong Protestants with an eye to the plunder of the Church. Elizabeth did not like helping rebels, especially Presbyterian rebels, but the chance was too good to be missed. She sent troops to assist the Scots to besiege the French garrison of Leith. Mary of Guise died; and in 1560 by *the Treaty of Edinburgh* both the French and the English were to evacuate Scotland. This was just what Elizabeth wanted, and the old alliance of France and Scotland, founded 260 years previously, was finally broken. Mary Stuart, returning a widow to Scotland, found her subjects, at least a vast majority of them, strong Protestants and strongly opposed to her. She had to put up with the preaching of Knox and the rough advice of the nobles headed by her half-brother James of Moray. She was no longer dangerous to Elizabeth.

Danger from France averted. From France also the danger disappeared. There was the Catholic party headed by the Duke of Guise, and the Protestants or Huguenots headed by Admiral Coligny. In the French wars of religion nobles of the highest rank were found on either side; Paris was Catholic, and many districts in the south and west were Huguenot. Francis II was succeeded

by his brother Charles IX. The real ruler of the country however was the Queen-mother, Catharine of Medici, a clever and intriguing Italian Princess from Florence. Philip of Spain proposed to Catharine that France and Spain should combine to crush the Protestants in both countries. Catharine refused; she would play off Catholics against Huguenots, and thus strengthen the Crown of France by weakening the nobles of both sides. Thus Elizabeth no longer feared either France or Scotland.

The story of Mary Stuart. Mary Stuart married a second time in Scotland, choosing her cousin Henry Darnley, a man of very evil character. She was surrounded by spies and enemies, and it is impossible to say for certain whether she is more to be pitied or blamed. Certainly most people pity her. Darnley murdered before her eyes her Italian secretary, Rizzio. Next, Darnley was murdered. Next, Mary married, perhaps under compulsion, an upstart named Bothwell who was almost certainly guilty of Darnley's murder. The nobles rose headed by Moray, forced her to abdicate in favour of her baby son James, and imprisoned her in a castle on a little island in Loch Leven. She escaped and threw herself upon the loyalty of the Catholic families, especially the Hamiltons; was defeated at Langside near Glasgow, and fled across the Solway into England. This was in 1568. What could Elizabeth do? send Mary back to Scotland by force of arms, or by treaty? or to France? or keep her in England? Each course was dangerous. Finally she kept her in England for nearly nineteen years. It was dangerous to have her rival here, for not only was there an immediate rising of the north-country Catholics, which however was easily put down, but also there were continual plots to release Mary and kill Elizabeth. But on the whole it was the safest policy. Elizabeth might be threatened by plots, but she had as a hostage in her power the woman who claimed the throne of England. As long as she was a hostage, there was no

fear that any foreign power would try to invade England. Mary had an unhappy time. Yet it is difficult to say that Elizabeth ought to have done anything different for the good of England. The Pope issued a bull dethroning Elizabeth; it only made Englishmen indignant and so strengthened her position.

Spain and the Revolt of the Netherlands. As the years passed by, Elizabeth saw that the enemy most to be feared was no longer France but Spain. Philip became the champion of Mary Stuart, and the Spanish ambassador organized plots to murder Elizabeth. On the other hand Philip was engaged in a desperate struggle against his subjects in the Netherlands. He determined to garrison that country with Spanish soldiers, and to introduce the Spanish Inquisition. The Netherlanders had always claimed rights of self-government, as in the old days when they were under the Dukes of Burgundy. War broke out, partly religious, partly political. At the head of the rebels was William the Silent, Prince of Orange, a German by birth. Many Netherlanders were driven to take to the sea, and as privateers pillaged the ships trading between Spain and Flanders; they sold their plunder and filled up with provisions and water at Dover. Pretending to fear Philip, but secretly encouraging them, Elizabeth ordered them away. They swooped down upon the coast of Holland, their own native land, captured a little town called *Brill*, then occupied Flushing, and lit a flame of revolt which never died out. This was in 1572.

The same year Queen Catharine of France, frightened at the growing power of the Huguenots and by the revolt in Holland which the Huguenots were supporting, brought about the notorious massacre on *St Bartholomew's day*, August 24. The Huguenots were prostrate for a time. Coligny was among the victims, and young Henry of Navarre recanted. Yet even so, though the Huguenots were powerless to help them, under their chief or "stadtholder,"

William of Orange, the Netherlanders held out. The Seven United Provinces of the north, Holland and Zealand at their head,—we now know the seven provinces by the name of Holland and call the inhabitants Dutch,—were never conquered. The savage Spanish general, the Duke of Alva, captured Haarlem, and cruelly massacred and plundered. But his successor failed to take *Leyden*, for the Dutch cut the dykes and brought their ships seven miles inland to save it; a University was founded in honour of the relief.

As the years went by, the hardy Dutch sailors and fisherfolk, nicknamed the Water Beggars in scorn, but taking the name as a title of honour, became the foremost seamen and merchants of Europe. On the other hand the Netherlanders of the south, who had been in the middle ages the richest of the Netherlanders, the Flemings and Brabanters and Hainaulters, the citizens of the manufacturing centres such as Ghent and Bruges, Brussels and Mechlin and Cambrai, and the great port of Antwerp, were reconquered by Philip's nephew Alexander, Prince of Parma. The Dutch, winning sea-power and religious liberty, secured the trade which had belonged to Flanders and Brabant. Re-conquered by Spain, the southern Netherlanders remained Catholic; their country corresponds more or less to modern Belgium.

Elizabeth's sense of security. Thus in this second decade of her reign the queen felt herself fairly safe. Mary Stuart was both prisoner and hostage. The Catholic nobles of the north rose and celebrated mass for the last time in an English cathedral, but they were put down. There was talk of a conspiracy to marry Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, a Catholic and great-grandson of the victor of Flodden. The Spanish ambassador knew of it, but no aid came to the conspirators from Spain. The Duke was attainted and executed. This is called the Ridolfi Plot, 1572. But Elizabeth would not defy Philip openly; indeed

she pretended to please him when in 1572 she made the Dutch quit Dover. Cecil would have liked open war, yet we must admit that the queen's policy was sound. As long as Mary Stuart was securely held and Philip busy with the Netherlanders, she could let the strength of England grow till she felt herself able to throw off the mask. This is the key to her puzzling hesitations and contradictory orders; she did not wish to strike till she knew that England could strike hard. Meanwhile in spite of the St Bartholomew massacre she discussed the question whether she should marry one of the sons of Catharine of Medici, France being no longer the enemy, but the ally to balance Spain.

Drake and the Sea-dogs of Devon. It was the men of Devon and the South-West who first showed the way to attack Spain. You will remember how under Edward I and Edward III the Cinque Ports fell off and the towns of the west coasts grew in importance, Fowey and Dartmouth contributing 47 and 31 ships to the Calais fleet in 1347. But now there was a yet more important expansion of the art of seamanship. We have reached the dawn of modern navigation. Under Henry VII and Henry VIII there had been explorations in imitation of the Spaniards and Portuguese, but they had been few and spasmodic. Now came the age of daring attempts to reach India by a north-west passage, to find a fabled Eldorado or land of gold, to create colonies. The experience of the Atlantic gales led to inventions in the design of ships and rigging beyond what was sufficient for the Channel or even the Bay of Biscay. Of course there was plenty of regular trade with Spain. But these men of Devon wanted to trade with the Spanish West Indies. Philip objected, and wanted to keep Spanish trade in Spanish hands. Hence troubles arose. It is very hard to pass judgment on John Hawkins and Francis Drake. Spain had a right to object, but then there was the Inquisition which tortured English prisoners and challenged reprisals. There is but a narrow line between private

adventure such as Drake's and buccaneering, or between buccaneering and downright piracy. Drake would have called his buccaneering open war against Spain and the iniquitous Inquisition. Yet we may fairly doubt if the Spaniards would have been thought to be so supremely wicked and cruel, if there had not been profit in plundering them. The spirit of adventure is finely expressed in *Westward Ho!*, but there was certainly also a spirit of greed in the adventurers which Kingsley did not illustrate; his men are all heroic Protestants.

The voyage round the world. In 1567 Hawkins and Drake sailed from Plymouth, kidnapped negroes and sold them in the West Indies, then were treacherously set upon, and lost all their treasure and all their ships but one; the prisoners were tortured by the officers of the Inquisition. Drake vowed vengeance. In 1572 he sailed to the Isthmus of Panama where the silver of Peru was carried over from the Pacific. Here he caught his first glimpse of the Pacific from a lofty tree. His success was marvellous. But he had to leave his treasure behind when the Spaniards rallied from their surprise. His seamanship was magnificent, but there were no guard-ships then in the Spanish waters, and surprise contributed to his partial success as much as his daring. Next, in 1577 he started on his great voyage with five little ships, of which the *Pelican* alone was over 100 tons. In September 1578 he passed through the straits of Magellan in the *Pelican*, re-named the *Golden Hind*; it was a record passage of seventeen days, unbeaten till the 19th century. Up the coast of Chile and Peru he plundered, and reached as far north as the 42nd parallel, thence by way of the Philippines and the Cape of Good Hope he came home to Plymouth in 1580. The precise value of his booty can never be known.

Elizabeth drifts into war. The queen could not disown Drake or punish him to please Philip. Plots against her life grew more frequent; priests and Jesuits came over

secretly to England, and assassination was in the air. At last the chief ministers and nobles of England banded themselves into an *Association* to protect her, and in case of her death to take vengeance on Mary Stuart. Again she meditated marriage with a French prince, Francis of Anjou, the youngest son of Catharine, a peculiarly vile man, but the sovereignty of the Netherlands had been offered to him. A combination of France and England with the rebel Dutch seemed to be very promising, but Anjou spoilt it by trying to loot Antwerp; he had to return humiliated to France, and Elizabeth threw him over promptly. Then William of Orange, whose life had been already attempted, was assassinated. Help, open help of royal troops under the Earl of Leicester, was at last sent to the now leaderless Netherlanders in 1585, yet not in time to save *Antwerp* from being taken by Alexander of Parma. The English fought a famous battle at *Zutphen* where the heroic Philip Sidney fell, yet Parma was steadily re-conquering the southern Netherlands, and something more had to be done by Elizabeth. Leicester was a bad soldier and the aid of England was not at first of much value to the Dutch. Now Philip retaliated upon her and her support of Drake by seizing English traders with their ships and cargoes in Spanish ports, for till now there had been regular trade between England and Spain. Elizabeth sent Drake to the West Indies with 25 ships under a commission as a queen's officer; it was just like her that she should have tried to stop him after he had started. Drake wrought great havoc, but gained little booty. His men suffered fearfully from yellow fever, and three quarters of them died. Moreover the Spaniards were now on their guard against surprise. Just at this time Walter Raleigh made his attempt to colonize *Virginia*, so named in honour of the unmarried queen. Drake on his return home brought away the starving survivors of the unlucky colony.

Babington Plot: Execution of Mary. The last

plot against Elizabeth's life takes its name from a young man named Babington. Her secretaries, Walsingham and Davison, knew all about it and aimed at implicating Mary herself. Letters, either genuine or forged, were produced to show that Mary knew of the plot. Parliament and the ministers insisted that she should be tried; Elizabeth gave way to the general feeling, and even signed the death warrant, and the Queen of Scots, prematurely aged by close on nineteen years of captivity and despair, was beheaded at Fotheringay Castle in February 1587. Elizabeth turned on her secretary Davison for his share in urging her assent to the execution, and was wroth with Cecil and Walsingham; and unless we believe that she meant to respite Mary at the eleventh hour her conduct can only be described as dishonourable. The die was now cast. Philip had no reason to refrain from attacking England. As Mary's champion and avenger, and claiming our throne as Catholic heir through a daughter of John of Gaunt, he gave orders to prepare the Great Armada. Alexander of Parma with his army was to be ready to be brought over from Flanders. After the exciting incidents of the last few years it was at last open war.

How England was ready to meet Spain. Could English levies of raw militia face with success the trained cavalry and musketeers of Parma? Mere courage is useless in modern war without science and discipline. Certainly Englishmen were beginning to learn the art of war in the Netherlands, but was that enough? Luckily, as in Napoleon's time, the question had not to be solved, for the war was confined to the sea. Thirty years earlier England would have had no defence, but now there was the experience of Hawkins and Drake on which to rely. Hawkins had entered into the queen's service as her chief naval architect. He had built many new royal ships of improved build, and with inventions in the rigging, such as the sea experience of himself and Drake suggested, by means of which they could

beat against the wind. Gunnery also was important, and a broadside fire was planned; however inaccurate the guns were, at least the trained sailors could hit a big Spanish hull at short range. But far above technical skill, great as it was, rose the genius of Drake, who first saw the way to save England by striking the enemy on his side of the sea. We are so accustomed to praise Nelson that we forget that this secret of sea warfare sprang from Drake's brain over two centuries before Nelson's victories. Moreover Drake had the technical skill to carry out his plan. With no naval base from which to fill up with water and victuals he hung about the Spanish coasts for some months, prevented the units of the Armada from joining each other, and sailing into Cadiz harbour did such damage that the Armada could not sail in 1587. This he called "singeing the King of Spain's beard." On the other hand the Spaniards, excellent as soldiers and explorers, had not studied naval warfare. Their best ships and seamen were Portuguese, Philip having recently become King of Portugal. As late as 1571, at Lepanto off the coast of Greece, had been fought the last galley action against the Turks by Spain and Venice combined. Of course galleys would be useless in choppy seas outside the Mediterranean, and the oars prevented broadside fire. The galleons, which were designed to take the place of oared galleys, were clumsy and top-heavy; they heeled over to the wind, and could not tack.

The Armada in action; July 21—29, 1588. Elizabeth in 1588 chose as commander Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, grandson of the Duke of Norfolk of Flodden fame, and her own cousin, for Anne Boleyn was the Duke's granddaughter. He was a good sailor and by his high rank could secure obedience. He got on well with Drake, who indeed was of too domineering a temper for the chief command, but was an ideal second. Partly at Plymouth, partly off Flanders to keep an eye on Parma, were 49 ships of between 200 and 1000 tons, not so very inferior to the

Spaniards in size, but infinitely more handy. The largest and best were queen's ships. Private adventure supplied many small craft insufficiently gunned for pitched battle. Howard and Drake wanted to go to Spain again and prevent the Armada from sailing. Elizabeth most unwisely ordered them to remain on the defensive; this is thoroughly bad policy, for the enemy can then choose his own time for coming. One shudders to think what might have happened if the Spaniards, arriving six weeks later, had found the English scattered for lack of victuals. But after many delays the Armada was sighted on July 20, not so strong in numbers as Philip had hoped; 120 ships and transports, 60 of them being over 300 tons; 24,000 men on board, but too many landsmen in proportion to the sailors.

From Sunday, July 21, to Saturday, July 27, there was a running fight up channel before a south-west wind, the English just holding off and firing at pistol range at the big hulls, the Spaniards unable to close and board, heeling over and firing too high. They reached Calais and anchored off shore. On Sunday night Howard sent in fire-ships; the Spaniards cut their cables in panic, for they had had experience of fire-ships three years before at Antwerp. On Monday, July 29, came the pitched battle *off Gravelines* on the coast of Flanders. The brunt of the fighting fell mostly on the queen's ships which carried the heaviest guns. Huddled together by the English broadside fire, and drifting blindly on a lee shore, the Spaniards were well beaten and seemed to be doomed. The wind suddenly shifted and blew them out to sea to the north. There is a superstition that the gale saved England. But naval writers tell us that what landsmen consider a gale is really only a high wind. Drake was in truth disappointed; he hoped to secure many prizes just as the change of wind baulked him by driving the Spaniards away. Certainly his powder was running out, but the battle had been already won. Round Scotland and Ireland staggered the shot-riddled ships. Three had

The Spanish Armada off Calais. From the House of Lords.

been lost in the channel, seven or eight off Gravelines, an unknown number were wrecked on the Irish coast, and less than half returned to Spain.

The sad part of the story has now to be related; the land forces had been mustered at Tilbury on the Essex bank of the Thames, and through inexperience they were attacked by enteric or other diseases that come from overcrowding.

Plymouth, Drake's Island, etc. from Mt Edgcumbe

Science of the sea gave victory to the fleet, ignorance of the science of health ruined the army. Elizabeth and her ministers have been much blamed, yet such a story of gallant men destroyed by disease is only too common in all ages. Elaborate precautions would have been impossible owing to expense as well as ignorance. In the same way

it was not her stinginess but the difficulty of collecting enough victuals and powder that caused the ships to be ill supplied.

Many Roman Catholics had armed on Elizabeth's behalf against Spain; and it is even thought that Howard belonged to their communion, but there is evidence that he took the sacrament according to the rites of the English Church. The English Catholics were loyal as a body, and it was hoped that the laws against them might be modified. However, they were still oppressed. Recusants who stayed away from church were fined; priests who celebrated mass were hunted down. Of course all men of the puritanical way of thinking considered this to be right and natural. Others could argue that Catholics persecuted abroad, and therefore should be persecuted here; that as the Pope claimed absolute obedience from all English Catholics even against their own queen, and encouraged the assassination plots of foreign-trained priests, therefore they should all be punished, even those who wished to be loyal.

War of Retaliation on Spain. How was England to carry the war into the enemy's quarters? This is the question which confronts us in every war. The fleet alone can ward off invasion; a trained army is absolutely necessary for retaliation. If England has no large army, the only alternative is to have allies. Elizabeth thought to find such an ally in Portugal. There was a pretender to the Portuguese throne which was now occupied by Philip. So an expedition was sent out under Drake to capture Lisbon and rouse the Portuguese to revolt. It was typical of many such attempts. The army, 9000 strong under Sir John Norreys, was totally unfit for the work; many of the officers had seen war in the Netherlands, but the men were an untrained rabble. Much booty was secured and much damage done, but the Portuguese did not rise and Lisbon was not taken. So all hope of obtaining a naval base close to the enemy was lost. The policy of mere raiding can never

bring an enemy to his knees. In 1591 there was the expedition to the Azores in which Richard Grenville fought his memorable battle in the *Revenge*[1]. In 1595 Drake and Hawkins went on their last voyage to the West Indies; they lost many men, and themselves died. The Spaniards had by this time organized the Indian Guard and were not taken by surprise. Other expeditions went out under Howard and Essex, and Essex and Raleigh; it was the same story, much destruction wrought, but no permanent success achieved.

The Dutch and Henry of Navarre. Meanwhile hundreds of Englishmen were really learning the art of war in the Netherlands. It may even be said that the English allies saved Holland from total re-conquest by Parma during the years when young Maurice of Orange was growing to manhood to take his father's place. The most noteworthy of the English captains was Sir Horace Vere, and he and his brother captains were of a type very different from that of Leicester and the showy courtiers.

Now also came the final religious war in France. The leader of the Huguenots, the celebrated Henry of Navarre, was Duke of Bourbon on his father's side and a distant cousin of the royal family; his mother had been Queen of Navarre in her own right; he had married the daughter of Catharine of Medici. In 1590 he won the battle of *Ivry*. Then Parma crossed the border from Flanders and stopped his career of victory. Finally he reconciled himself with Rome, was accepted at last by the city of Paris, and became Henri IV in 1594. He granted complete liberty of worship to the Huguenots by the *Edict of Nantes*. His policy was always to maintain the balance of power against Spain and Austria, to be the ally of the Protestant Dutch, and to restrain the excessive power of the great feudal

[1] She was not a very small ship: she carried a crew of 250, and may have been as much as 500 tons, but tonnage was not accurately reckoned in those days.

nobles of France. This he bequeathed as a legacy to his son and grandson, and it was not till many years had passed that the policy of the grandson, Louis XIV, turned France into an aggressive and persecuting power.

English Rule in Ireland. Henry VIII was the first of our kings to call himself King of Ireland. The power of the English extended a very little way inland from Dublin, and the Tudors had to fight for the mastery in Ireland as if it were a strange unconquered country. Elizabeth planted colonies in Kildare, but beyond she had much fighting forced upon her by the strong feelings of the Irish for the Church of Rome, supported largely by the Spaniards. The warfare was very bitter, and it ruined the reputation of Elizabeth's last favourite, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. He was a vain young man, who, when disgraced by Elizabeth, tried to stir up a riot in London and was executed for treason.

Elizabeth's later Parliaments. The closing years of the reign were marked by a strong revival of the power of the Commons. In earlier days Elizabeth had domineered over her Parliaments as much as Henry VIII; probably she had been wise to do so, for she kept in check the unruly and loud-voiced members who were for extreme measures in church matters. Edward IV, Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary had called upon many little towns to send members to the Commons, hoping to secure the election of men who would be afraid to oppose the crown; such towns, or even villages, were afterwards known as *rotten boroughs*, and maintained their right to elect members till the great Reform Bill of 1832. Elizabeth went still further, and created thirty such boroughs, mostly in Cornwall and Hants, though it is curious that some of the strongest opponents of the crown sat for such places. But she owed her throne to her popularity, and had to be careful not to offend people. The chief laws of her reign were measures against the Roman Catholics and their worship, prompted by the

plots against her. In 1601 there was enacted a *Poor Law* by which each parish was made responsible for its own poor and compelled to provide relief.

The question of Monopolies. Elizabeth feared to risk her popularity by heavy taxation. But an indirect method of rewarding her favourites was the institution of *monopolies*; a courtier, a Leicester or a Raleigh perhaps, would be granted the sole right to export or to import some particular article. Of course these articles were very dear, but such a man as Raleigh made use of the money to do good in trying to colonize Virginia. The Commons protested against monopolies in 1601; Elizabeth yielded and withdrew them, doing this with such graceful words in a message sent through the Speaker, that she added to her popularity enormously. To give way gracefully is so valuable, and yet so rare a gift, that this episode marks clearly the difference between Elizabeth, now near to her death, and the coming Stuarts, who never gave way until they were forced. Granted that she was fond of favourites, mostly incompetent, that she loved flattery and show and pleasure, often showed bad temper and meanness to those who served her, that, while she was extravagant at court, she starved her soldiers and sailors, it remains that she just suited the nation at a critical period of its history and left behind her the name of Good Queen Bess. She must have been unhappy enough in her old age. Her old and faithful statesman, William Cecil, whom she had created Lord Burleigh, died five years before her, and many others of her trusted friends had passed away before her death in 1603.

Education, Building, and Literature. Private benevolence did a great deal for education in this reign. If we look back to Edward VI, we remember that the Lords of his Council confiscated the lands of the chantries on the excuse that they wished to benefit education, yet they founded only a few schools. In 1553 Sir Andrew Judd,

formerly Lord Mayor, founded a Grammar School at Tonbridge, and gave for it some land outside London near where is now St Pancras station. In Mary's reign one school was founded, Repton, by Sir John Port. Queen Elizabeth herself re-founded St Peter's College at Westminster. Under her Sir William Harper, who had also been Lord Mayor, bought a piece of land near Judd's to endow a Grammar School at Bedford, and Lawrence Sheriff the land next to it to endow Rugby. Little did they think how valuable the land would be when London was rebuilt after the Great Fire of 1666, and how their schools would profit. Similarly John Lyon, yeoman, of Preston, founded Harrow. In James I's reign Thomas Sutton bought what had been a Carthusian monastery in Smithfield not far from the "New Gate" of London, and there founded "the Charterhouse," partly as a school, partly as a home for poor gentlemen, which are celebrated in Thackeray's novel *The Newcomes*; and Edward Alleyn founded Dulwich.

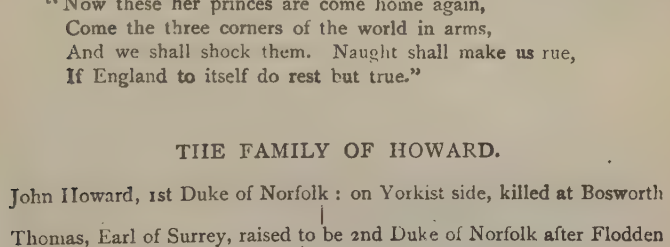
All over England are to be seen great mansions built in Tudor reigns. The last castle was erected towards the end of the 14th century. The desire for luxury and comfort led the nobles in the 15th century to prefer to live in houses; one of the earliest is the red-brick mansion of Hurstmonceux in Sussex. In the 16th we have Wolsey's Hampton Court, Lord Burleigh's Stamford House, Hatfield House, and scores of others. A good deal of extravagance and show marks the century, and these houses and their gardens were planned on a great scale. Scott gives us a picture of the Earl of Leicester's display at Kenilworth. Castles were deserted, not because of the invention of gunpowder, but because they were gloomy and comfortless; the need for them came again in the Civil War.

The blaze of literary glory which marks Elizabeth's reign was wonderful. The excitements of the century, the keenness of religious arguments, the new ideas stirring in men's

minds as a consequence of the revival of classical learning and of the astounding discoveries in a new world, must have had their influence in producing poets such as Edmund Spenser and Philip Sidney. Living over into the next reign, yet belonging to what we call Elizabethan literature, were Francis Bacon the essayist, Walter Raleigh who was historian as well as sailor, and above all, Shakespeare. But even before Shakespeare there were other dramatists, whose names are barely known to many people of the present day simply because they were eclipsed by him. Shakespeare's patriotism, his keen love of England and England's exploits, are clearly seen in plays written before Elizabeth died. Both in *King John* and in *Henry V* we see this. John is represented as something of a patriot, and after his death when England is rallying herself against the Frenchmen the play ends with these lines:

> "Now these her princes are come home again,
> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true."

THE FAMILY OF HOWARD.


John Howard, 1st Duke of Norfolk: on Yorkist side, killed at Bosworth
Thomas, Earl of Surrey, raised to be 2nd Duke of Norfolk after Flodden
Thomas, 3rd Duke, "admiral" at Flodden
Henry, executed 1547
Thomas, 4th Duke, executed 1572
Edward, admiral, killed at sea, 1513
Edmund
Catharine 5th wife of Henry VIII
William
Charles 1536—1624 Lord High Admiral in 1588
Elizabeth
m.
Thomas Boleyn
Anne Boleyn
ELIZABETH

THE HOUSE OF STUART, 1603—1714

JAMES I, 1603—1625

Thirty Years' War in Germany, 1618.

James Episcopalian or Presbyterian? James I of England and VI of Scotland succeeded to the throne. It was a union of crowns only, not of Parliaments. The French alliance having been broken by John Knox and the Protestants, there was no political trouble to hinder his accession. Scotland suffered by the removal of the court to London; as time went on it was seen that the Stuarts looked upon the throne of England as more valuable than that of Scotland. Nor was this strange. James had been brought up by Presbyterian preachers who thought themselves superior even to the king, and he probably retained a lively memory of their long sermons. He came to England and found himself Head of the Church. Here kings chose their archbishops and bishops, and here flourished the doctrine of the *Divine Right of Kings*, which taught that his crown came to him from Heaven, and that it would be a crime to depose him, as his mother Mary had been deposed by Moray and Knox. That he became an ardent Church-of-England king was to be expected. The Scottish Presbyterians were disappointed; the English Puritans who wished to have a church on the model of that in Scotland were disappointed likewise, and constantly looked to Scotland for help. One of the first events of the reign was a conference of Bishops and Puritans, held at *Hampton Court*, to debate about their differences; naturally

nothing came of it, for neither side would give way. Indirectly, however, it had one enormously important result, namely the translation of the Bible which we still use and know as the *Authorized Version*. On the other side the Roman Catholics expected James, when free from Scottish Puritanism, to declare himself for them, for Mary Stuart, his mother, had been looked on as a martyr for their cause.

He was not at all an amiable man nor a pleasant figure at the head of church and state. He babbled about being Pater Patriae, Father of his Country, yet was undignified, slovenly, and nasty in his personal habits. No flattery could be too gross for him; he swallowed it greedily and expected it. He chose shockingly bad favourites, and there were unpleasant stories about their behaviour at court.

Policy towards Spain and the Roman Catholics. The first two questions that came up were concerned with the Spanish war and the treatment of Roman Catholics. James was shrewd and sensible enough in foreign affairs. He wanted to make peace with Spain, as indeed Elizabeth had done in her closing years. England was far too poor to be able to set up a standing army or to maintain an adequate navy, and mere raids could never bring a war to a really satisfactory end. As the generation of Drake passed away, adventurous raiding tended to become buccaneering, and was not far removed from piracy. James' minister was Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, son of Elizabeth's Lord Burleigh. Cecil favoured peace. The opponent of the peace policy was Sir Walter Raleigh, the last of the Elizabethan school of adventurers. There were various plots in the air; Raleigh was accused by Salisbury of being implicated, and was thrown into the Tower, but his real crime was his opposition to peace with Spain.

James seems to have tried honestly to give some measure of relief to Roman Catholics. Fines for non-attendance at church were remitted, and negotiations were entered into with Rome. But the Pope would not surrender his claim to

the absolute obedience of the Roman Catholics of England. The negotiations were therefore sure to fail. In 1604 and 1605 some ardent Roman Catholics plotted to destroy both king and parliament. The story is well known. A room was hired and a tunnel was being mined towards the House of Lords; then the plan was changed, and a cellar directly underneath was hired; here powder was stored under faggots of wood. Lord Monteagle was mysteriously warned not to attend Parliament on November 5. A search was made, the powder was found, and the agent of the conspirators, Guy Fawkes, an old soldier of fortune, was arrested, tortured, and made to confess. Catesby and Percy and other conspirators were killed as they resisted the officials sent to arrest them. For the act of these few the whole body of Roman Catholics was punished; the fines were again imposed, and priests who celebrated mass secretly were once more hunted down.

Later on Raleigh was released from the Tower that he might sail in search of some fabled goldmine up the Orinoco in South America, but he was forbidden to fight the Spaniards. The expedition failed, and there was some fighting. He was, on his return, beheaded for alleged piracy, but really to please the Spanish ambassador. We can understand James' peace policy, yet must ever lament the fate of such a man at the bidding of Spain. Peace could have been maintained without this sacrifice. Nor do we admire the way in which James allowed the navy to fall into decay; poor as England was, some effort could have been made to keep it up. Also his design of marrying one of his sons to a Spanish princess was very unpopular at the time, and has been condemned since by all historians.

The Dutch and the Elector Palatine. Towards the Protestant powers James was inclined to give himself airs as though he were their patron. He gave his advice to the Dutch upon all matters, whether military or religious. He was probably wise in making with them a military treaty,

which allowed them to enlist volunteers in England and Scotland, not as king of England's men, but as a permanent mercenary force in their pay; also certain towns upon their coast which Queen Elizabeth had held as security were restored to the Dutch for a sum of money down. Henceforward under Maurice and Frederick of Orange, sons of the murdered William the Silent, the Dutch army was one of the finest in Europe, and the English and Scottish brigades in it were always up to strength and always doing good work. Thus plenty of our men were learning how to fight, though we had no army at home. The Dutch also kept up a formidable navy against Spain at a time when ours was worthless.

James married his daughter Elizabeth to a Protestant German prince, Frederick the Elector Palatine, whose territory lay on the middle Rhine and corresponded partly to the modern Baden. In 1618 a fearful war of religion broke out in Germany, when the Elector Palatine was put forward by the Protestants to be king of Bohemia. He was not only driven out of Bohemia, but also lost his own country of the Palatinate; with the unhappy Elizabeth he was a homeless exile. Yet James could do nothing to help his daughter and son-in-law; he had neither the means nor the men. The war thus begun lasted until 1648 and is called the *Thirty Years' War*. It certainly seemed as if the German Catholics, headed by Austria and supported by Spain, were going to sweep all Protestant princes from their thrones. The Dutch alone held their own. Meanwhile it must have been galling to Englishmen that they could do nothing to support the cause except as volunteers. It was because of this war that Englishmen bitterly resented the idea of a Spanish marriage for the Prince of Wales.

Beginnings of East Indian Trade. For the past hundred years the Portuguese had kept in their own hands the trade round the Cape to the East, and Venice had been steadily declining. English and Flemish and Dutch traders

went to Lisbon for spices and silks, and thence brought them to market at London, Antwerp, and Amsterdam. But when Philip II annexed Portugal this was forbidden, and the Protestant powers thought of trading themselves directly with the East Indies. Thus Portugal suffered because England and Holland were at war with Spain. Before Elizabeth died several companies of merchants had been formed for direct trade with Turkey and the Levant, but the most important was the *East India Company*. There was a great demand for spice and fine raiment, and the profits were very great. The Great Mogul, the Mohammedan Emperor at Delhi, granted permission in 1613 for a "factory," a settlement of warehouses and residences, to be established at *Surat* on the Tapti river in western India. James sent Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to Delhi, and thus gained privileges for the Company, but made them pay him for them. The Portuguese of Goa were bitterly hostile. Captain Best with some armed merchantmen had to win a fight at sea in 1612 before peaceful trade was possible.

Further afield the English merchants joined with the Dutch in trading in *the Spice Islands*, Java and Sumatra, and especially Amboyna, an island a thousand miles east of Java, the most suitable spot for growing cloves. The Portuguese were quite unable to prevent the trade, but the English and Dutch soon quarrelled; the Dutch destroyed our settlement and murdered our men in *Amboyna* in 1623. We were compelled to limit our trade to the mainland of India, and sooner or later the bitter commercial jealousy between the traders was certain to extend to the mother-countries. Holland had then by far the stronger navy, and England had no chance of getting revenge or compensation for the massacre. Thus the two Protestant powers, old allies against Spain for religion, would in the future fight against each other for trade and pocket; this happened in the days of the Commonwealth. Meanwhile the mother countries were at peace though the traders fought.

LEWISHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Plantation of Colonies in America. On the other side of the world Englishmen went to colonize rather than to trade. In 1607 *the Virginia Company*, under the leadership of Captain John Smith, after much toil and suffering founded *Virginia* under a charter from James. It sounds absurd that a king should give to a company land upon a distant and savage coast which does not belong to him, but the granting of a charter means that the colonists take with them the law of England and live under the flag. The capital of the settlement was called Jamestown, and the river on which it was situated the James river. There was no blind search for gold, and very soon it was found that the cultivation of the new plant called tobacco, which Raleigh had been the first to discover, held great commercial possibilities. The story of the foundation of Virginia is indeed pathetic, for Raleigh himself at that moment was lying in the Tower. Settlements were made also in the *Bermudas* and the island of *Barbados*; "the still vexed Bermoothes" have the honour of being mentioned in Shakespeare's last play, *The Tempest*. Gradually other small islands of the outer ring of the West Indies were occupied by buccaneers, Dutch and French as well as English; they were useful posts from which to harry the Spaniards, who had occupied the bigger or inner islands, the mainland of Mexico, the Isthmus, and Venezuela, but had forgotten the need of holding the outer ring as a gateway. Downright piracy flourished in the West Indies in consequence.

Meanwhile a band of Puritans, who found themselves unable to worship at home as they wished, settled by leave of the Virginia Company on the land just to the north of Cape Cod, and there founded *New Plymouth*. These were the *Pilgrim Fathers* who sailed from the English Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, and were the pioneers of the Puritan colonies of New England. Soon the charter of the Virginia Company was withdrawn, and the colony of Virginia was taken over by the crown and a royal governor nominated.

Plantation of Protestants in Ulster. In Ireland the Roman Catholics of Ulster under the O'Neills, who had always held out against Queen Elizabeth, were in an almost perpetual state of war. The Earl of Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, fled to Rome, his lands were declared forfeit, and James sent over to *Ulster* colonies of Englishmen and Scots. The city of London equipped those who settled at Derry, hence the name Londonderry. Most of the colonists were not only Protestants but also strong Puritans, and down to our days there has been intense religious bitterness in north Ireland between the natives and the settlers. Also the system of land tenure was altered; the Irish regarded land as belonging to the clan and not to individuals, the newcomers farmed each his bit of land as his own private property. Here then were planted the seeds of enmity which ripened into war in the days of Charles I, of Cromwell and of William III. But the English and Scots were infinitely better farmers than the native Irish.

Rights and privileges of Parliament. Under James I the House of Commons gained new strength and left as a legacy to the next reign a growing spirit of resistance to the king's will. James held out for the *Royal Prerogative*, the right of the king to be above the law, just as much as any of the Tudors. Against him the Commons stood up for *Privilege of Parliament*. On one occasion the king asserted that Parliament had no privileges except by his will. The Commons did indeed win from him their right to settle disputed elections; also their own personal freedom from arrest while Parliament was sitting, except for treason and felony. They voted tonnage and poundage, that is so much money on every tun of wine and every pound of dry goods imported from abroad. James followed a precedent of Mary and Elizabeth in claiming the right to increase the sum voted; these extra customs duties were known as *impositions*. The Commons protested, but James won his point. Also he renewed the monopolies

which Elizabeth had given up. For all his shrewdness he was not clever enough to see that the old tyranny of the Tudor monarchs was not possible now, especially as the family of Stuart was personally unpopular, and the court favourites more unpopular still. Public opinion was growing; James, not seeing this, left his son to meet the full force of its hostility.

Right to impeach the King's Ministers. Just at the end of the reign the House made a great effort which foretold the opposition which Charles would experience. It revived the old practice of impeachment in attacking Mompesson and others as holders of monopolies; and by a somewhat similar procedure brought about the downfall of the Lord Chancellor, *Francis Bacon*, Viscount St Albans. Impeachment was the old method of attacking the king's ministers which had been adopted by the Good Parliament of Edward III. The Commons accused the minister before the House of Lords. The accusation was that, when as Lord Chancellor he was acting as a judge, he had taken presents of money from suitors. He was condemned, fined, and dismissed. So in the next reign the Commons had these examples to look back upon when they impeached in turn Buckingham and Strafford.

The influence of one of James' courtiers towards the end of the reign was infinitely bad. George Villiers was a country gentleman raised by sheer favouritism to be Duke of Buckingham, and his head was turned by power. He went with Prince Charles to Spain to pay court to the Infanta, James being bent on the "Spanish Match" for his son and heir. The Spaniards were offended by Buckingham's conduct and the match was broken off. In revenge James and Buckingham prepared to interfere in the Thirty Years' War on the Protestant side. But the only force which they sent out, untrained and ill equipped, perished of starvation and disease. At this point James died, leaving to Charles a bad favourite and a difficult war.

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CHARLES I, 1625—1649

FOUR YEARS OF PARLIAMENT, 1625—1629.
ELEVEN YEARS OF NO PARLIAMENT, 1629—1640.
THE LONG PARLIAMENT, 1640.
THE EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD, 1641.

Charles had the advantage over his father that he had the manners of a gentleman. His court was not disgraced by drunkenness. He had a winning behaviour, and many of his adherents were devoted to him. Was he conscientious, or was he only obstinate? Such a question every one answers for himself. He was strongly attached to the doctrine of Divine Right, to the maintenance of the Church, and the Royal Prerogative. But he could not understand that the feeling of the country was more puritanical than it had been under James. He began badly, at least in the eyes of Puritans, by marrying the Roman Catholic daughter of Henri IV, Henriette Marie.

Buckingham and a Policy of War. James I had been blamed for making peace with Spain, and doing nothing to help the Elector Frederick and other Protestants of Germany. Charles, with Buckingham as his adviser, began his reign by planning a great Protestant alliance to help Frederick, and persuaded his uncle, Christian IV of Denmark, to join, together with France. Louis XIII, whose minister was the famous Cardinal Richelieu, was a Catholic; but the Edict of Nantes was in force in France, and Louis

and Richelieu were ready to help Protestants against Austria and Spain. The English Puritans might have been expected to sympathize; but they could see nothing beyond the fact that France was Catholic, and that Queen Henriette was a Catholic and wanted freedom of worship. Above all they hated the supremacy of Buckingham. He was a gaudy man, not only gaudy in dress, but showy and incapable. It was a point of honour with the House of Commons to oppose him, to pull tight the purse-strings even if thereby no aid could be sent to the German Protestants and Christian. The cry of Charles' first Parliament was "Tonnage and Poundage for one year only, not for the king's life; no subsidies as long as Buckingham is favourite." An expedition was sent against Cadiz in imitation of Drake's raids. It was an utter failure, for the men were impressed and quite untrained. Some English ships lent to the French were used against the revolted Huguenots of La Rochelle.

Expedition to Relieve La Rochelle. The second Parliament in 1626 attributed every error to Buckingham and impeached him. To save him Charles dissolved Parliament. Then Buckingham changed round and made war on France; it was as if he were bent on war, no matter against whom, as long as he could get military glory for himself and pose as the champion of distressed Protestants. Scandal said that he was in love with the Queen of France and jealous of the great French minister, Cardinal Richelieu. The French government made a strong effort to reduce La Rochelle, blockaded it and constructed a mole across the harbour-mouth. Buckingham in person led a relief-expedition in 1627; he failed, for, though brave enough, he was quite ignorant of war, and the men were as badly trained as ever. The money for the expedition had been raised by a forced loan.

Meanwhile Christian of Denmark, poorly supported from England because Parliament had grudged the money, was

badly beaten. The Catholics in Germany carried everything before them.

A Landmark in English History. The third Parliament met in 1628. The Commons, led by Sir John Eliot and Sir Thomas Wentworth, were perfectly determined to stand upon their rights against forced loans. No matter how often the Yorkist and Tudor kings had violated Magna Carta, they would now make a definite stand, and in the debates again and again was reference made to Magna Carta and Edward I's Confirmation. No matter if La Rochelle fell for lack of English help, the first duty of Englishmen was to oppose forced loans. So *the Petition of Right* was presented, being a conscious effort to insist on the two chief clauses of the Charter. It will be seen that each clause of the Petition grew out of the French war:—

1. No loan or tax shall be collected except by vote of Parliament (because the La Rochelle forced loan was not by vote).

2. No freeman shall be imprisoned without due cause (because men had been imprisoned for not paying the La Rochelle loan).

3. Soldiers and sailors shall not be billeted on private houses (because this was the method of punishing men who had refused the La Rochelle loan).

4. There shall be no more commissioners appointed authorized to punish offenders by Martial Law.

The last two clauses make the raising of an army practically impossible, because there were then no barracks, and obedience cannot be enforced on soldiers except by martial law. But the Commons wanted to prevent the king from punishing his opponents who refused to pay.

The lords for a time favoured the insertion of a phrase "Saving the King's Prerogative." Charles kept to the old idea that a king had a right to be above the law in special cases for the national good, and surely, he might argue, a

war-loan to help Protestants was good. But the Commons were the more obstinate. Charles gave way at last unconditionally and accepted the Petition. Then the Commons voted him £350,000; if their rights were acknowledged, they would be ready to support a Protestant war.

Very soon afterwards Buckingham was murdered in the streets of Portsmouth as he was superintending a new relief-expedition. This did indeed sail, and was as unsuccessful as the first one. Then the "proud city of the waters" surrendered through starvation after a blockade of many months. The policy of Richelieu is quite clear; the Huguenot stronghold must be ruined, not because it was Huguenot, but because it was a centre of rebellion and a gateway for any enemy to enter France.

Sir John Eliot's Resolutions. Charles had accepted the Petition and collected his £350,000. He had agreed to give up forced loans. But "tonnage and poundage" was not a "tax," and therefore was not covered by the Petition; so he continued to collect it at the ports as his royal right. Eliot was far from satisfied. In 1629 the same Parliament held a second session, and he prepared three resolutions to put before the Commons. Finch, the Speaker, refused to let them be put; so two members held him down in his chair, while the door was locked. "Whoever shall bring in innovation or introduce popery shall be reputed a capital enemy to this Kingdom; Whoever shall advise the levying of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament; Whoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the same, shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England." There was a scuffle round the Speaker's chair. Shouts were raised of "Aye, Aye." The door was unlocked; in came the king's official to declare Parliament dissolved; and for eleven years to come there was no Parliament. Eliot was tried for riot and sent to the Tower, where he died three years later of lung-disease

brought on by the cold of his cell; he was only forty. Of all Charles' opponents he was the most honest and single-minded. One of the members who had held down the Speaker remained in prison for the full eleven years, the other was lucky enough to escape.

Wentworth goes over to the King. If Eliot was a martyr in the cause of Parliament, we are not at all forced to condemn Wentworth. They represent different types of mind. It is quite true that Wentworth had been one of the first to present the Petition, and then turned round and served Charles through the eleven years of no Parliament. But he had opposed Buckingham and his gaudy policy of making war on France without sufficient means or capacity to secure success; he had objected to the La Rochelle loan for this reason. He did not oppose the king as the king; he favoured some compromise with regard to the "saving" clause at the end of the Petition, so as not to weaken too much the royal authority. In his eyes Parliament was too fond of haggling over money, and was less likely than the Crown to direct foreign policy well. Therefore when once Buckingham was dead, he was quite willing to serve Charles. Macaulay misunderstands the position when he calls Wentworth an "apostate" and "the first of the rats." We mean by a "rat" not merely a man who changes sides, but one who after changing persecutes his former friends and betrays their secrets. Wentworth was always for efficiency under a strong king, and had considered Buckingham to be a source of weakness. He saw how France was gaining strength under the strong rule of Richelieu, and he wished to be the English Richelieu. His first idea was to make peace with both Spain and France, to abstain from war, even from helping the Protestants, and to build up an army and a navy with which some future war might be successfully carried on.

A Necessary or Iniquitous Tax? Charles did not

at first consult Wentworth to any great extent, but came later to rely more largely on his advice. The most celebrated device of the "Eleven Years" of no Parliament, the famous *Ship Money*, was suggested, not by Wentworth, but by a lawyer named Noy; indeed, similar demands for money to equip ships were made in Buckingham's time. We go back to the days of Edward III, who had a right to call for ships from the ports, and for troops to defend the

"The Sovereign of the Seas," built for Charles I from the proceeds of ship money, 1637

coast, not only from the counties on the coast, but also from the midlands. If a king has the right to ships, he has (argued the king's advisers) the right to money wherewith to build ships. Charles actually built new ships with the money and repaired old ones. Had he an enemy in view? Certainly; the Mohammedan corsairs of the Mediterranean were no longer restrained by Venice, who had fallen from her high position as the naval defence of Christendom;

they often raided even in the Channel. The Ship Money fleet sailed, captured a stronghold of the infidels on the coast of North Africa, and rescued many Christian galley-slaves. In fact the iniquitous tax was the first step towards our gaining sea power in the Mediterranean. Moreover the Dutch were very strong at sea, and no compensation for the massacre of Amboyna was forthcoming. It is unfair to praise what Henry VIII did for the Navy and to blame Charles for restoring the navy; more unfair to abuse Charles and Wentworth and to praise Cromwell, for Cromwell carried to a climax the very policy that Charles and Wentworth suffered for beginning, namely the maintenance of a strong army and navy by heavy taxation without vote of Parliament.

Complaints were raised against the first levy of ship money, but nobody resisted payment; when however it was imposed year after year, a Buckinghamshire squire, John Hampden, refused to pay. His was made a test case. The judges had been appointed by, and could be dismissed by, Charles himself; seven out of twelve decided against Hampden, and he paid rather than suffer the fate of Eliot.

The Church Innovations of Laud. The adviser of Charles in Church matters was William Laud, Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. One of Eliot's resolutions had been against innovation and popery, and Laud was the innovator. His views we should now call *High Church* and ritualistic. He wished the services to be less puritanical, and, his enemies said, more papistical. He favoured the use of vestments, of decoration and symbols. In particular he ordered the *communion-table* to be removed from the body of the church, and to be set up again at the east-end as an *altar*. His defence was that he stood for reverence in the church-service by insisting on forms and ceremonies. The method by which he tried to silence opponents was that he summoned them before the Court of High Commission or the Star Chamber. We do

not approve of the severe sentences, the pillory and the cropping off of ears. But in fairness it must be admitted that the writers who were thus punished used most coarse and extravagant language. Not many men were condemned and mutilated, but their cases attracted much attention.

The Eleven Years outside England. While England has no Parliament let us look abroad. The *Thirty Years' War* still raged. Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, intervened on the Protestant side. The hardy and disciplined Swedes beat back the Catholic armies out of North Germany, but after two years of glory and victory Gustavus was killed in battle at Lutzen in 1632. He left the Swedish army the model of what a national army should be. His daughter Christina and her French allies continued the war. La Rochelle once crushed and French Protestants once powerless, Cardinal Richelieu entered energetically into an alliance to help German Protestants against Austria and Spain. Very many Scots served under the Swedish flag; but Englishmen who wanted to see fighting still preferred the Dutch service, and the long war between Holland and Spain still dragged on.

In India our merchants had hitherto traded and had their "factories" in native towns such as Surat. In 1639 the Company was able at last to buy a piece of land on the east coast, six miles by one, on a surf-beaten beach where no harbour could be constructed, "a poor thing, but all our own." Here was erected *Fort St George*, and the town which grew up was called *Madras*.

Across the Atlantic went many Puritans who disliked Laud's innovations, not to trade, but to settle and to worship according to their own ideas. The largest colony was *Massachusetts*, north of the settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers at New Plymouth, which later on was absorbed by it. These men did not emigrate for liberty of conscience: they persecuted those who disagreed with them; Roger

Williams left them and founded *Rhode Island* for real liberty of conscience. The most tolerant colony of all was the Roman Catholic settlement in *Maryland*, named after Henriette Marie; it was planted by Lord Baltimore north-east of Virginia, and, like Virginia, became rich through tobacco. Both these were aristocratic and planting colonies; the New England Puritans were self-governing farmers.

The Eleven Years in Ireland and Scotland. Wentworth was sent by Charles to Ireland as Lord Deputy. He ruled as a despot, but Ireland prospered under him. He developed the cultivation of flax and the *linen industry* in Ulster. He had at Dublin a Parliament in which sat both Protestant settlers and native Irish Catholics. He raised and trained a small but excellent army. It was in Ireland that he adopted as his motto the word "thorough," by which he meant thorough efficiency and thorough devotion to the king. In 1639 he was created Earl of Strafford, and by that name he is best known.

In Scotland James I had done something to strengthen the Bishops, though the nation generally was Presbyterian. Laud, at this period, did not originate a policy of forcing on the Scots a government by Bishops, but he supported the Scottish Bishops in their attempt to introduce a Prayer Book closely resembling the English. The Presbyterians were violently stirred; there was a riot in St Giles' in Edinburgh, and a movement was started to sign a *National Covenant*, from which its supporters are often called *Covenanters*. There was no religious tyranny on the part of the Scottish Episcopalians; indeed, the Presbyterians, who were the majority of the nation, were rather inclined to play the part of tyrants in objecting to the minority using the Prayer Book. Many Scottish mercenaries in the Swedish service were recalled from Germany. Alexander Leslie was soon in command of a large army encamped on Duns Law near the Tweed. It was open revolt, and the

operations which followed are known as *the first Bishops' War.*

Meeting of the Long Parliament. The disturbances in Scotland began the struggle in England which ended in civil war. To face Leslie's Scots Charles could only put into the field the untrained militia of the northern counties. He had no money, consequently he had to make a humiliating treaty with the Scots, and to call a Parliament. The Commons, led by John Pym, demanded redress of grievances, especially the abolition of ship money; Charles wanted at once a large grant of money, and refused to promise anything. He dissolved the Parliament, which hence is known as *the Short Parliament.* The Second Bishops' War followed, in which the English levies broke and fled before the Scots. Charles was quite powerless, made a second treaty with the Scots, and finally summoned *the Long Parliament*, November 1640.

This celebrated body was not the longest Parliament in our history; it sat for eight years, and in a mutilated shape for five more; whereas the Cavalier Parliament of Charles II lasted for eighteen, meeting at irregular intervals. Nor was it composed of violent radicals, but mainly of country gentlemen and lawyers who were devoted to legal government. Pym took the lead, Hampden of ship-money fame was the most popular member, and no one then guessed that the silent member for Cambridge, Oliver Cromwell, would leave a deeper mark on history than either Hampden or Pym.

First Acts of the Long Parliament. At once the assembly set to work. The *Triennial Act* was passed; if in future a king should try to govern without a parliament for a period of three years, arrangements were made by which elections should be held without the need of waiting for the king's command. Next Parliament voted that it could not be dissolved without its own consent. This was vastly important; the merchants would not lend money

unless they had security that Parliament would not be dismissed, for Charles might repudiate the loans. Everything that had been complained of was abolished, once and for ever; forced loans, ship money, Star Chamber, High Commission Court, Court of the North, Council of Wales. Strafford and Laud were impeached. The case against Laud languished, and he lay in the Tower; he was finally executed in the middle of the civil war.

How it got rid of Strafford. It was hard to find any real evidence against Strafford. He was supposed to be guilty of advising Charles in all his illegal conduct; yet it was Noy who had suggested ship money, and in any case advice, however bad, can hardly be called treason, especially when it is given in the personal interest of the king. Strafford could not be justly impeached on "common fame," that is to say, on his general bad reputation as a counsellor of evil. The only definite accusation was that he had advised Charles to use the Irish army for the subjugation of "this kingdom"; Pym said that "this" meant England; Strafford that it meant Scotland, when that country was engaged openly in the Bishops' War. Finding themselves in difficulties the Commons dropped the impeachment, and brought up a *Bill of Attainder*. They were determined to get rid of their enemy somehow. The bill passed the Commons and the Lords; would the king sign it? Charles with incredible weakness sacrificed Strafford as a scape-goat to popular vengeance, and signed the bill. So by Act of Parliament Strafford was declared to be tainted and unfit to live. Such a process is the antipodes of justice. Law is general, defines who is a traitor, and fixes a penalty; a jury finds if a particular man is guilty, and a judge passes sentence. But an Act of Parliament naming a particular man reverses the process of law. Popular outcry demands a victim; so Strafford is executed. We contrast the case of Thomas Cromwell, who was attainted when he lost the king's favour. "Put

not your trust in Princes" was Strafford's own comment.

Church Question and Army Question. So far we have not come to the causes of the Civil War. All the worst evils of tyranny had been abolished. Strafford had been put out of the way. But there remained a profound feeling of mistrust; Charles might yet make another attempt to over-ride the laws. Still there was nothing tangible about which to fight. So far Parliament had been practically unanimous. Now parties were formed. There were the out-and-out Royalists; there were Royalists and Churchmen, who had opposed Strafford, yet now rallied to the King and to the Established Church, chief among whom was Sir Edward Hyde; the majority of the House were either Presbyterian, or else Churchmen with strong puritanical leanings, who wished to set up a Presbyterian Church on the Scottish model; and there was a small but strong body of Independents, led by Cromwell and Harry Vane, who were for neither Bishops nor Presbyters, but wished each Puritan congregation to be free to govern itself and worship as it liked. The real cause of war was the Church question. Two bills were brought up; *the Root and Branch Bill* would have destroyed the whole form of church government; *the Bishops' Exclusion Bill* would have turned the bishops out of the House of Lords.

Secondly, there was the Army question. Poor weapon as it was, the militia was yet the one legal force of the country, and the King alone could call it out. On Strafford's execution the Roman Catholics of Ireland broke into revolt, turned upon the Protestant settlers, and committed many atrocities. England was excited, and doubtless much exaggeration prevailed, as is usual in such cases, as to the extent and enormity of the atrocities. Troops had to be sent to Ireland; but were they to be controlled by King or by Parliament? A *Militia Bill* was brought in, by

which Parliament was to be empowered to give commissions to militia officers. Charles would have nothing to do with it.

An appeal to Public Opinion. In November 1641 after one year of session the Commons drew up a remarkable document, *the Grand Remonstrance*. It was a sort of catalogue of all the wrong deeds of Charles' past life, an unfair attack such as appeals only to prejudice and hate. It was a cry made to the public at large, setting the king's misdeeds in the worst possible light, and implying that he never would rule properly in the future. It was passed by a majority of only eleven votes after very fierce debate. It was then printed and circulated throughout the country. It made Charles and the Royalists very bitter, and promoted a feeling such as could only lead to war. When men's minds were thus inflamed, quiet argument was no longer possible. Charles simply had no chance to show that he either could or would rule by law after Strafford's death. For a short time the violence of his enemies made him really popular.

Charles appeals to direct force. Then he too did a violent thing which made war inevitable. Pym and Hampden had undoubtedly looked to Scotland for support, and Charles accused them of treasonable correspondence during the Bishops' War. But he made a great mistake, for he ordered them and three others to be impeached; whereas impeachment was the method by which the Commons attack a king's ministers. The Court of the King's Bench was always open for a king who wished to accuse a subject, as in Sir John Eliot's case. Next he went down in person from Whitehall to the House, attended by armed cavaliers, to secure *the arrest of the five members*. A warning had been received just in time; the five slipped out and were rowed down to the City. Charles entered the House, and found that "the birds were flown." Lenthall, the Speaker, fell on his knees, but refused to tell him where they were. Next day the king went down to the City, and

the Lord Mayor in his turn refused to surrender them. A paper was thrown into his coach, and it bore the ominous words, "To your tents, O Israel." The excitement of these days entirely effaced the momentary popularity that Charles had enjoyed. He left London, never to return except as a prisoner. This was in January 1642; in August he set up his standard at Nottingham.

Note to Third Edition

A few plain facts given in this chapter have, naturally enough, been termed by some critics biassed and prejudiced. Of course the suppression or distortion of evidence by Macaulay shows neither bias nor prejudice; and one critic has invited me to return to his "accepted version." The late Andrew Lang put it clearly; you may abuse Episcopalians and Cavaliers unrestrainedly, but a word in their defence brands you as a bigoted partisan.

Indeed one fact in favour of Charles has been omitted. He did his best to get the county authorities to improve the militia, to see that the men had up-to-date arms, and to train them; but both nobles and gentry refused to take the trouble. John Eliot then, and nearly every historian since, has jeered at him for the failure of his untrained rabbles at Cadiz and La Rochelle. The argument seems to be this; "we refuse to vote the money for a Protestant war, or to let you train the militia, in order that when you fail we may load you with abuse."

Certainly the ship-money argument has been put forward somewhat too strongly. But very few historians state that it was all spent on ships or even mention the attack on Sali. Charles did something for the fleet, and tried to do something for the militia. Let him have a little credit.

THE CIVIL WAR

1642. Edgehill. 1643. Gloucester.
1644. Marston Moor. 1645. Nasbby.
1646. Newark. 1647. Holmby House.
1648. Second Civil War.

While King and Parliament are arming, let us look at the chances and resources on either side. In war, as in games, those will win who can last out; a good start counts for much, but the tug comes when the reserves are put in. The King had the Churchmen, the majority of the nobles and gentry, also a strong minority of the House of Commons who migrated to Oxford to join him. For Parliament were all the Puritans, whether Presbyterian or Independent, a few puritanical Churchmen, a considerable minority of nobles and gentry, and the majority of the House of Commons. Many country districts, the north, the midlands, part of the west and south-west, were Royalist; but the richer eastern counties were Parliamentarian. Most of the towns were strongly Puritan, not only London and the rich ports such as Hull and Bristol, but also country towns such as Gloucester and Taunton. The effect of this was that the King waged war on his capital, Parliament on income. The nobles and gentry, the colleges at Oxford, the King and Queen themselves, could only sell their jewels and plate, and cut down their oak trees, once; even then it was hard to find buyers. Parliament drew a steady yearly income from the ports and other towns in the richest

counties, and could borrow, because they were able to repay. Each side was strongest where the country militia was favourable to it, and where the gentry armed their farmers and servants for either side. Each tried to secure the services of old soldiers who had learnt the art of war on European battlefields; George Monk was a royalist and a good example of the best type of English officer trained in Holland; in Dugald Dalgetty Sir Walter Scott has painted the common soldier of fortune. Militiamen, volunteers, or English mercenaries, mostly at first joined the King. The decisive question was, which side would in the long run organize the best professional army out of such material? It has been cleverly said that in 1642 both armies were composed of amateurs, and Rupert and his horsemen were the better amateurs. In the end Cromwell trained his yeomen to be the better professional soldiers. The Royalists are always known as Cavaliers; their opponents as Roundheads,—the name being given them because they cut their hair short in somewhat showy contrast to the long locks of the Cavaliers.

First Year: Rupert's charge at Edgehill. After some months of preparation came the only action of 1642, fought at *Edgehill* in the south midlands. Charles commanded in person on one side, Lord Essex on the other. The details of the battle show the character of the men. Rupert was Charles' nephew and son of the unlucky Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine; he has a real place in military history, and was not merely rash and hot-tempered: he was the first to charge at the gallop, sword in hand, without waiting to fire from the saddle, as European cavalry invariably did. He broke the Parliamentary horse of the left wing and threw terror into their ranks, but his own men and horses were much knocked about by their own impetus, were blown, and unable to rally for a second charge. The clumsy foot in the centre of each army, half pikemen, half musketeers,—the musket was a heavy and

awkward weapon, slow to load, and fired from a crutch by a smouldering match,—could do little to secure victory, but the King's foot had the worst of it at push of pike. A small body of good Parliamentary horse, experienced in

Prince Rupert, Cavalier

fighting abroad, prevented absolute rout. It was a drawn battle, but a moral victory for the dashing Cavaliers because of the terror that they inspired.

Cromwell saw this. He told his cousin Hampden that

they must raise and train a steady cavalry of thorough Puritans, whose religious devotion would match the Cavaliers' enthusiastic loyalty. Meanwhile the way to London lay open. Charles advanced, but the citizens turned out and ran up entrenchments which he dared not storm. Then both sides went into winter-quarters.

Second Year: Gloucester, Lincolnshire. In 1643 there were many thousands of men in arms on each side. There were small local armies, and every old castle or manor-house was a military centre. The difficulty was to combine such forces, to persuade the men to march away from their own homes, in fact to create a permanent field-army. Charles' strategy was quite good. His own army from Oxford raided towards London, and defeated and killed Hampden at Chalgrove. A second army under Ralph Hopton over-ran Devon and Somerset, won several victories, and captured several Puritan towns of the south-west. Rupert, coming from Oxford, stormed Bristol. A third army under the Marquis of Newcastle beat Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas Fairfax in Yorkshire, and drove them back into Hull. Now was the moment for a united advance on London, as Charles wished. But the northerners did not like to leave Hull uncaptured, or the south-westerners to leave Plymouth. This fatal inability to combine lost Charles his chance.

Instead he attacked *Gloucester*, an important place because it commanded the first bridge over the Severn and was a gateway into Wales, where he got good recruits, but far less important than London. The Parliamentarians made a great effort. Lord Essex filled up his ranks by enlisting the trained bands of London, marched wide north of Oxford, reached and relieved Gloucester. But on his return he was cut off by Charles at *Newbury*, on the Kennet in Berkshire, where runs the main road from Bristol to London. The trained bands were not professional soldiers, yet standing close with their long pikes they beat

off Rupert's best horsemen. Thence Essex proceeded unmolested to London.

Such trained bands were useful for a short campaign and showed much courage. But unless the men would enlist for permanent service, they were good only for an emergency. The army of Lord Essex was about as bad as it could be, when the Londoners went back to their daily occupations. The really most useful work of this year was being done in the eastern counties, seven of which formed *the Eastern Association*. Not only did they combine, thus getting over the difficulty of service outside the county, but they had Cromwell at their head. He devoted himself to scientific professional training, secured officers of foreign experience, and himself both learning and teaching soon became an able cavalry leader. He succeeded because he deserved to succeed. His cavalry, in particular, he trained on the model of the Swedish armies; and as he had told Hampden, he sought recruits among the gentry and yeomen of Puritan life who put their conscience to the work and submitted to discipline. They were mostly Independents in religion. With them he marched into Lincolnshire, overpowered the Cavaliers there, and repulsed the forces sent from Yorkshire against him. The battles were on a small scale, but the steadiness of the men and the skill of Cromwell promised great things for the future.

Alliance of Parliament and Scots. Pym was dying, but his last work for the cause was to negotiate with the Scots. Their aid was much wanted in the north. A treaty was signed, known as *The Solemn League and Covenant*. A Scottish army was to march into England and to take the pay of the English Parliament; in return a Church was to be established in England "according to the example of the best reformed churches and according to the Word of God." Harry Vane, who conducted the negotiations, got these words to be inserted. Obviously there was trouble in store, for the Scots would insist that a "Presbyterian"

Church like their own was meant, and the English might deny it, and indeed did deny it.

Charles on his side arranged an armistice with the Irish Catholics, and brought over to England some regiments thus released.

An Exquisite, 1646

Third Year: Marston Moor, Lostwithiel. The general strategy was somewhat changed in 1644. Charles had organized a fairly good permanent force which he could use as his main field-army in any direction, while local forces would hold the castles and towns which were for him. But the year opened badly. Thomas Fairfax defeated

in Cheshire the regiments brought from Ireland, and Monk was taken prisoner. The Scots under Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, and his kinsman David, came over the border, joined the Fairfaxes in Yorkshire, and laid *siege to York*; the Eastern Counties' army, under Lord Manchester and Cromwell, having cleared Lincolnshire, also moved up to York. Against the three combined armies Charles detached Rupert from Oxford. By a quick and clever march through Cheshire and Lancashire, over the Pennines, and circling round to the north, Rupert outwitted

Pikeman and musketeer, 1645

the Parliamentarians, who were expecting him from the south-west and had broken up the siege to meet him. He relieved York and pushed on at once after them. It is the fashion to accuse him of recklessness. But in truth to follow up an outwitted enemy shows decision of character; only it might have been wiser to have given the Marquis of Newcastle and the relieved garrison of York a little more time to recruit their strength.

On July 2 the armies faced each other on *Marston Moor*. Rupert and Newcastle mustered some 7000 horse

and 11,000 foot on the field, the combined Parliamentarians 7000 horse and 22,000 foot. Late in the evening the Parliamentarians attacked. Cromwell and the Eastern Counties' horse on the left wing broke Rupert's right; up flew Rupert himself with the reserve; then Cromwell's second line charged under the temporary command of David Leslie. The charge at a good round trot and the readiness of the second line to rally the first were typical of Cromwell's methods. His wing, completely victorious, was halted in order that he might look round. Meanwhile the cavalry of Fairfax had been routed by the Royalist left; the foot were struggling in the centre with varying success. Cromwell crossed behind the Royalists, charged and broke their victorious left, and then turned on the foot. This was the first crushing victory in the war, and was entirely due to Cromwell's discipline and steadiness. Rupert after it nicknamed him "Old Ironsides," and the name stuck to his cavalry. But at once there broke out a feeling of jealousy; neither the Scots nor the English Presbyterians liked to think that the Independents, Cromwell and his men, had won the day. York immediately surrendered.

Charles in his turn had pursued Lord Essex into the south-west, and surrounded his army at *Lostwithiel*, a few miles inland from Fowey in Cornwall. Essex and his cavalry escaped, his infantry surrendered. Charles returning victorious from the south, Manchester and Cromwell coming from the north to help Essex, met at the *second battle of Newbury*. The action was drawn, but it is important because of a violent quarrel which ensued between Manchester and Cromwell.

Fourth Year: the New Model at Naseby. Early in 1645 Parliament passed the *Self-Denying Ordinance*, by which members of both Houses laid down their commissions. It is called an "ordinance," because without the King's signature it could not be an "act." The object was to get rid of Lords Essex and Manchester and others, who

were accused of incompetence or slackness, but of course Cromwell lost his commission for a time. Then Parliament organized an army on a *New Model*; it was to be a standing field-army, regularly paid and ready to march anywhere, when ordered; the horse were chiefly drawn from the

Cromwell's Ironside

Ironsides of the Eastern Association, the foot from various armies; men could be impressed, if necessary. The number was at first fixed at 7000 horse and 14,000 foot. Sir Thomas Fairfax was Lord-General, and a special ordinance of Parliament reinstated Cromwell as Lieutenant-General for the cavalry.

England : Civil Wars

The New Model first met the Royalists at *Naseby* in Northants. Charles' army was by no means contemptible, for he had kept it together for some considerable time, but it was only 7000 strong. Fairfax and Cromwell had 14,000 in action, but the foot were mostly raw impressed men. Again Cromwell's steady charge at the trot triumphed, this time on the right wing; he halted and re-formed to attack the Royalist foot; Rupert's gallop on his right broke the horse opposed to him, but he took too long to re-form. Charles' army no longer existed, his baggage and casket of letters fell into the hands of his enemies.

The Scots under Leslie and the New Model under Fairfax had now no field-army before them. They beat various small bodies, and proceeded to capture at their pleasure the castles and towns where there were garrisons of Royalists. In the autumn Bristol fell, and all organized resistance was at an end. During the war hitherto the artillery had not been useful; often quite weak castles, not to mention the solid Edwardian fortresses, had defied whole armies. Now heavy guns were used, and the castles were breached and then stormed.

One gleam of hope remained. James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, an old Covenanter who had been disgusted by Presbyterian intolerance, raised the Highlanders for the King. In 1644 and 1645 he won a series of most brilliant victories. But Highlanders were difficult men to manage; they liked to scatter after a victory to take their booty home, and they preferred to ravage the lands of the Campbells, the chief Presbyterian clan, rather than move south. David Leslie was recalled from England, and overwhelmed Montrose at *Philiphaugh* near Peebles. In obedience to the preachers Leslie stained his honour by murdering some prisoners; but Montrose escaped.

Charles prisoner of the Scots. With no resting place for the sole of his foot Charles surrendered in May 1646 to the Scots, who were then besieging *Newark-on-*

Trent. The last of the cavaliers to lay down his arms was Sir Jacob Astley. "Now," he said, "you may go play, unless you will fall out amongst yourselves." The troubles of the victors had begun; let us see what divisions there were among them.

There was the Scottish army, which had entered England under the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant on purpose to establish here a Church "according to the example of the best reformed churches and according to the Word of God." There was the Presbyterian majority in the English Parliament, backed by London and by most of the towns, who also desired the establishment of such a Church, which both they and the Scots interpreted to mean a Presbyterian Church. But there was also a minority in Parliament, composed of Independents, who acted with almost all the officers and men of the New Model, and wanted no established Church at all. Parliament was beginning in London and Lancashire to set up Presbyterianism. What was it exactly that the Independents disliked? No Bishops, no Prayer Book, no Royal Supremacy—these tenets were acceptable to all Puritans. But as in Geneva under Calvin, so in Scotland, the Kirk interfered in private life, dictated what should be believed as God's Word, and claimed the right of punishing vice. The General Assembly domineered over the Scottish Parliament, and practically made itself the Government. It was this interference in both private life and politics that the Independents feared. John Milton wrote "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." They had opposed Laud and what they had considered the priestly tyranny of the older Church. They did not allow that "a Church according to the Word of God" meant Presbyterianism, which seemed to them to be equally tyrannical. The Scots would retort that their army had been, therefore, brought to fight against Charles under false pretences

For the time the Scots held the king as their prisoner. Their best preachers argued with him: would he accept the Covenant? He held his own; he could not possibly

repudiate the Church of England for which he had fought for four years. At most he would only consent to an establishment of Presbyterianism for three years on trial. In despair the Scots offered to hand him over to the English Parliament, if the arrears of pay due to them were forthcoming. It is unfair to say that they "sold their king for gold." When Charles gave himself up to one of two allies, it was as good as surrendering to the other. The money was really owing. £200,000 were paid down, and he was handed over. The Scots withdrew to Scotland.

Charles prisoner of Parliament. He was lodged at *Holmby House* in Northamptonshire, and guarded by Commissioners from Parliament. During the first half of 1647 the same arguments went on. Parliament wanted him to co-operate with them in establishing Presbyterianism in England; he refused steadily. Secondly, would he consent to Parliament having control of the militia? Prisoner as he was, he clung to that control as the most valuable right of all kings before him; it seemed foolish to argue about so paltry a force as the militia, when the New Model was strong and armed, but it was the only legal force of the country.

The New Model Army had been created by Parliament, and disbandment was now ordered by Parliament. The war being ended, the body which had ended it should be dissolved. But Parliament did not pay up the arrears of wages, and would not give an indemnity. If once the soldiers were disbanded, they would certainly never see their arrears; if they had no indemnity, they might be prosecuted at law for violence, for damage done to crops, and for goods or horses seized during the war. The officers and many of the men, at least in the cavalry, were of a good class, were educated, and had studied their Bibles. They could argue on religious questions as well as any preacher, and thought themselves quite competent to settle both Church and State; they had their debating society, and their speeches have been preserved for us. Cromwell's

conduct has been much criticised. At one time in the House of Commons he said that he would make them disband. "Ay, marry they would at his command." Then after much agony of mind, much searching in prayer to find "what was the Lord's Will," he finally put himself at the head of the discontented soldiers; the refusal to grant them their pay decided his action. Fairfax quietly fell in with his views. A party of horse under Cornet Joyce seized the person of Charles at Holmby House, June 1647.

Charles prisoner of the Army. The leaders of the Army tried to come to terms with their prisoner. Since they had defied Parliament, they were openly rebels. From Charles alone could they obtain a legal position, and thus once more have right on their side. A paper was drawn up, mainly by Ireton, called *The Heads of the Proposals*. If the king would acknowledge them as his officers, they would restore him; they also demanded a free Parliament, and full freedom of conscience except for Roman Catholics. But, much as Charles disliked the Presbyterians, he hated the victorious Army far more. He could understand his own authority, or even the authority of Parliament as opposed to him, but the Army were rebels against both. Once more Cromwell was in agony of mind. The soldiers called on him to break off dealings with Charles, to put himself at their head and march on London. He could not, he said, act without authority, "if it be but an hare swimming over the Thames"; that is, he wanted some assurance, even the very weakest, that the Army had right and not only might on their side.

But the Army was not entirely united. The party of the Levellers, headed by Colonel Lilburne, put forward their views in another paper, *The Agreement of the People*. The Nation, or Public Opinion, was a higher authority than either King or Parliament. They talked about "natural rights," and demanded that a new and free Parliament should be elected, every man to have a vote. Let Cromwell put himself at their head with such a manifesto. But the

officers, Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton in particular, were a military aristocracy; they could not understand that a trooper had "natural rights" like an officer, or a mere labourer like a gentleman of property. They put down mutiny, when it appeared, with a strong hand and weeded out Levellers from the ranks.

The Army, taking Charles with them, marched on London. Eleven of the most important members of the Commons fled, and Parliament was overawed. Charles was lodged at Hampton Court; thence he escaped to Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight, and might have gone to the Continent. But he thought that his enemies were so divided that he would "enjoy his own again," if there were a new rising. He entered into *an Engagement* with the Scots for a three years' trial of Presbyterianism, and hoped that old Presbyterian soldiers would join with the Cavaliers to rise against the domineering Army. Meanwhile the queen and others were trying to bring in Irish Catholics or foreign mercenaries. The genuine Cavaliers did not all like the idea of appealing to Scots or Irish or other foreigners. There was a general feeling that Charles was intriguing and insincere in this effort to set his enemies against each other. Had he quietly refused, prisoner as he was, to negotiate with either Presbyterians or Army, it would have been better for his reputation.

Second Civil War: Colchester. Yet so great was the fear of military despotism and of the Army itself governing England, that the Royalists rose in 1648 both in South Wales and in Kent; some Scots crossed the border, over 20,000 strong, but not the best soldiers of Scotland and not the thorough Presbyterians; also the fleet mutinied. But London and the English Presbyterians did not rise. The Army was ready and admirably disciplined; the insurgents were scattered, though numerous. Fairfax drove the Royalists from Kent into Essex, besieged them in *Colchester*, and captured it after a long and desperate resistance; the leaders were executed. Cromwell, after reducing

the castles of South Wales, pushed up north. He marched round by Yorkshire, and over the Pennines to the rear of the Scots as they straggled through Lancashire; drove them in a three days' running fight from *Preston* through Wigan to Warrington, and finally captured more prisoners than he had men in his own army.

Pride's purge and the end. Cromwell's mind was profoundly stirred by this renewal of war. There might be a third and a fourth rising; the Royalists and Presbyterians might yet combine, and he had a fear of the ultimate triumph of either the old Church or Presbyterianism, each of them tyrannical and opposed to liberty of conscience. So he screwed up his determination to put "the man of blood" out of the way. He took the law into his own hands with his eyes open. To prevent any kind of religious tyranny, he imposed himself on the nation as a military tyrant. Colonel Pride *purged*, or turned out, all the *Presbyterian members* from the House. Fifty-three Independent members remained, commonly known as *the Rump*; they disregarded the House of Lords, created a special High Court of Justice, and brought Charles before it. He refused to plead, was condemned as a murderer and traitor, and executed on January 30, 1649.

The quiet and dignified conduct of Charles during the last few weeks of his life, and his execution by a body of men who had no lawful right, made him a martyr. Everything was forgotten, whether the Engagement with the Scots, or the attempt to bring in Irish and foreigners. Similarly Cromwell's services in preventing the establishment of Presbyterianism were forgotten. Sooner or later, if military rule were to continue, both Monarchy and Church would be restored, so great was the feeling of revulsion. Cromwell, having in all earnest tried to come to terms with Charles and to get some show of authority upon his side, in despair of knowing what else to do had put him out of the way.

THE COMMONWEALTH

FIVE YEARS OF THE RUMP, 1648—1653.
DROGHEDA, 1649. DUNBAR, 1650.
WORCESTER, 1651. DUTCH WAR, 1652.
FIVE YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE, 1653—1658.
JAMAICA, 1655. DUNKIRK, 1658.
TWENTY MONTHS OF INTERREGNUM, SEPT. 3, 1658.
MONK CROSSES THE TWEED, JANUARY 1, 1660.

Cromwell in Ireland: Drogheda. Ever since 1641, when after Strafford's execution the Irish had risen and massacred many English settlers, there had been war and confusion in Ireland. The Royalist Protestants were led by the Marquis of Ormonde, the head of the Anglo-Norman family of the Butlers; there were the Presbyterians of Ulster; and there were the Roman Catholic confederates under Owen Roe O'Neill, a most energetic soldier. After the execution of Charles the Royalists and the Catholics combined to acknowledge his son. The Rump was forced to send over in 1649 a large army to put an end to anarchy, and chose Cromwell to command. He stormed the towns of *Drogheda* and *Wexford*, putting to the sword the garrisons and priests.

It is hard for us to understand Cromwell's mind. Like all Puritans he had been educated to regard all Roman Catholics as outcasts; he knew all the stories of the cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition, of Mary Tudor's persecution, and of the massacres in Germany during the Thirty Years' War, besides the Irish massacres of 1641. At least half of the

garrison of Drogheda were Royalist Protestants, but he would have considered them as bad as Catholics, because allied with them. According to the rules of war in those days no soldiers had a right to quarter if they defended an indefensible position. The order to kill was given by him in the heat of battle, not in cold blood. There was no indiscriminate slaughter of civilians or women by his order, but as in all wars some non-combatants suffered. Soldiers of the New Model killed priests and friars without orders. Yet it remains that the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford were truly awful and have left evil memories; many were massacred even after being admitted to quarter, and others were burnt out of a church tower where they had taken refuge.

Cromwell gradually conquered south-eastern Ireland; returning to England next year he left Ireton, his son-in-law, to complete the conquest. Lands were confiscated on a large scale in the centre and south, and were chiefly given to officers and soldiers in compensation for arrears of pay. The native Irish landowners were driven in thousands across the Shannon, which thus became the "pale" or boundary. Thus the national bitterness against England was intensified, and the English settlers became a sort of armed garrison in the country.

Cromwell in Scotland: Dunbar. In 1650 young Prince Charles, unable to get help from the Roman Catholic Irish, listened to the proposals of the Presbyterian Scots. He had to subscribe to the Covenant, which his father had died rather than do. He was forced to disown the noble Montrose, who was captured and executed like a felon. He had to listen to the usual long sermons and to hear his father abused. But he had David Leslie and the whole fighting force of Scotland on his side. Unluckily for him the interfering preachers forced Leslie to dismiss many good officers, and to replace them by "godly men" who knew little of war.

There was religious jealousy between the Presbyterian Scots and the Independents of the English Army and Rump, because Presbyterianism was not enforced in England; national jealousy was ever present; personal jealousy between Cromwell and Leslie existed ever since the battle of Marston Moor. Fairfax resigned rather than fight his old comrades in arms, and Cromwell was thus raised to be Lord General. He advanced along the coast road towards Edinburgh, while a fleet kept in touch with him and furnished supplies. But at first Leslie entirely outwitted him, following the old plan of Robert Bruce and refusing a pitched battle, so as to starve out the invaders. Unable to storm Edinburgh, Cromwell was forced to fall back towards Berwick.

Between Edinburgh and the little port of Dunbar there is a wide and rich plain from the foot of the moors to the sea; from Dunbar eastwards to Berwick the moors come right down to the coast and are intersected by many steep ravines. Cromwell retreated easily to Dunbar, where he halted, while Leslie held the high ground above him, for he dared not try to cross those ravines with Leslie close to him. The only way out of the trap would have been to ship his men in detachments and to endure a siege at Dunbar. But the Scots were in their position suffering from exposure to the rain. Once more the preachers interfered, and ordered Leslie to come down to level ground and to blockade Cromwell closely. In the night Cromwell shifted his position, and at daybreak on September 3, 1650, with his 11,000 men he fell upon Leslie's 22,000, rolled them up against the foot of the moor, and annihilated them as an army. It was an action only possible for highly trained veterans. The retreat on Berwick ceased, and Cromwell occupied Edinburgh and Leith.

The Scots invade England: Worcester. In 1651 Leslie raised more troops and was holding out in Stirling, the old centre of Wallace and Bruce. Again he refused

battle, and Cromwell crossed the Forth by boat at Queensferry and advanced on Perth. Thereby the way to England was left open. Taking Charles with him Leslie made a dash southwards in the hope of rousing the English Royalists. Cromwell acted with energy; he left Monk to command in Scotland, sent Lambert ahead with cavalry, and himself followed. Lambert moved quickly, and edged Leslie westwards towards the Severn away from the direct road to London. The Cavaliers, taken by surprise, did not rise in large numbers. Cromwell raised the militia as he advanced, and joining Lambert attacked in vastly superior force at Worcester. He won what he called his "crowning mercy" on the anniversary of Dunbar, September 3, 1651. Charles after many hair-breadth escapes at last reached Brighton, where he got a boat and landed in France on October 22; the loyalty of the many people who helped him to elude the close pursuit of Cromwell's horsemen was wonderful.

At this time, just after Cromwell had fought his last battle, there were in all some 70,000 soldiers in regular pay, whether in Ireland or Scotland or England. Ireton, and after him Henry Cromwell, had trouble in Ireland; but Monk battered down Stirling Castle, and by his straightforward character pacified the Scots. Gradually the numbers of the army were reduced. We must remember that since the New Model was first organized Cromwell had weeded out most of the Levellers and others of extreme views. Many old Cavaliers were enlisted. It was no longer solely an army of godly Puritans, but a strictly professional army. The love of fine uniforms and lace, and of long hair and waving plumes, made the men resemble the Cavaliers rather than the Roundheads of 1642. Red was the uniform colour for the foot, buff coats with red sashes marked the horse. The discipline was very strict. In military skill the Cromwellians were far above the standard of 1642, and many a reform had been introduced; for instance, the musket was lighter and fired without a crutch, and the

pikemen could charge without disorder and were not only good in defence.

Meanwhile, ever since 1648, when some of the fleet had gone over to the king, and Rupert and others had taken to privateering, the Rump had been forced to build ships. Under the honest and clever administration of Harry Vane no fewer than 46 battleships were turned out between 1649 and 1653. An admiral of genius was found in Robert Blake, formerly a Puritan colonel, who chased Rupert and the Cavalier privateers off the high seas. Lucky indeed it was for England that this ship-building programme had had to be carried out, and that Blake had been discovered. A naval war was now threatening.

A Revolution in National Finance. The question of money was above every other question. The enormous army and the new navy had to be paid. Much was raised from the conquered Cavalier landowners, who were allowed to live on their estates if they "compounded," that is to say, if they paid large fines to avoid confiscation. But the proceeds of such fines were soon exhausted. The Rump required a steady permanent income, and this could only come from trade. So they passed *the Navigation Act*: no goods were to be brought into England from places outside Europe except in English ships or ships of the English colonies; there was to be no trade between England and a European country except in English ships or ships of the country concerned. Not only were merchants at once benefited, trade encouraged, and the yield from the customs increased; but also the colonial trade was greatly increased. Formerly a Dutch ship carried Virginian tobacco to Holland, whence it was re-exported to France or England; now all tobacco had to come straight to England, and much of it was re-exported from England. Therefore the new system hit the Dutch very hard, as they had the chief *carrying trade* of Europe. Of course the full effect of this financial revolution was not felt at once; our colonial empire

was but growing from small beginnings. Nor did England get very rich immediately, nor Holland very poor. But the rivalry between the two countries, dating from the Amboyna massacre of 1623, became much more bitter because of this Navigation Act.

The first war against the Dutch. The Thirty Years' War had come to an end in 1648, and also the old long struggle between Holland and Spain. The Dutch wished to economise and cut down their navy. On the death of William II of Orange they abolished the stadtholdership, and set up a Republic in which the rich merchants had most power. They were not ready for a new war. But now the Rump, engaged in the task of putting down French privateers in the Channel, claimed the right to search Dutch ships. This claim, coming on top of the Navigation Ordinance, goaded them into war in 1652.

The English navy was new and not very scientific; the Dutch were much more experienced, but were hampered by their recent policy of economy. Moreover the Dutch merchantmen had to run the gauntlet the whole way along our coast from the Atlantic to Holland. Each battle at sea was fought in order to capture or to defend their merchantmen. Fierce hammer-and-tongs battles they were, too. Our "generals at sea," Blake and Monk, covered themselves with glory; if apparently beaten, they refitted and put to sea again. No victory such as Trafalgar was possible between these two evenly matched fleets. But the Dutch, having most to lose, suffered most in the long run.

Cromwell turns out the Rump. Beyond doubt Cromwell hated the idea of war between two Protestant nations; his enemies said that he was jealous of Vane and the navy. He had long been calling upon the Rump to dissolve itself; fifty men had no right to rule the country for ever. They claimed that if a new Parliament were called they should have seats in it without new election. There were ugly rumours that they made money by taking

bribes from Cavaliers who had to compound for their lands. At last one day in 1653 Cromwell brought down some musketeers, left them outside, and entered the House with General Harrison. He got up to speak, strode up and down in his excitement, and, pointing at the members in turn, chid them roundly and called them by hard names. Then he told Harrison to bring in the soldiers. Mr Speaker Lenthall tried to frown defiance, even as he had defied Charles I on the occasion of the attempt to arrest the five members eleven years earlier. Harrison's men pulled him out of his chair. The House was cleared and the door locked. Next day some wag nailed up a paper: "This House is to be let, now unfurnished."

It was not long before peace was made with the Dutch. Under Cromwell's management they were brought to agree to the Navigation Ordinance and to the Right of Search, to salute the English flag, and to pay compensation for the Amboyna massacre. A few years earlier every one would have scoffed at the idea of their submission to such terms.

Cromwell as Lord Protector. After the ejection of the Rump a body of men were brought together by Cromwell and the officers, and called from the name of one of the members "Barebone's Parliament." It did little more than talk and was soon dissolved. Then the officers drew up a document, *the Instrument of Government*, by which Cromwell was to be Lord Protector; he was to have practically supreme control of the general government, of the army and navy and foreign policy; he was to call a Parliament once every three years, and it was to consist of a single House. Twice he summoned such a House, and twice he dissolved it, being just as unable to govern in harmony with Parliament as any of the Stuarts. But a very important point is that he summoned to it members from Scotland and Ireland; in fact the three countries were governed as one. Of course this was but an enforced union; the voluntary union between England and Scotland

came fifty years later. Meanwhile Monk governed Scotland quietly and justly, and probably most of the Scots themselves were glad that he broke for a time the political power of the Presbyterian Church.

Cromwell was frankly a military despot governing for the nation's good, and was as "thorough" as Strafford. There was a greater measure of real liberty of conscience, except for Roman Catholics, and in a less degree for thoroughgoing Episcopalians, than England had ever enjoyed. The Presbyterians, prevented by force from persecuting others, were yet themselves free to worship as they wished. The Cavaliers were heavily taxed, but secretly could worship according to their forms. Ministers of any sect, Presbyterians, Baptists, or Independents, could preach as long as they satisfied the Triers, a board of men appointed to examine the fitness of ministers.

But the expense of Cromwellian rule was crushing. The annual peace revenue came to 2½ millions, more than treble the amount of Charles' income during his eleven years of no Parliament. Yet even during peace this revenue did not cover expenses. The customs duties at the ports were not yet large enough to supply the nation's needs, even after the Navigation Ordinance came into force. The most violent thing that Cromwell did was to divide England into ten military districts, each under a Major-General, to secure payment of taxes, and especially a ten per cent. tax on the incomes of Cavaliers. But no government can possibly be carried on at an annual loss, or make up such loss by perpetually fining one class. In fact if Cromwell had lived for another five years he would have plunged England into bankruptcy; such is the final verdict of Dr S. R. Gardiner, the leading historian of this period.

Foreign Policy: War against Spain. Cromwell's reputation rests mainly upon his wars: he was the first who made England to be feared abroad. His Protestantism was strong and genuine, for he hated the Dutch war

because waged by two Protestant nations on a mere question of commerce. His strong remonstrances against the persecution of some Swiss Protestants by the Duke of Savoy led to their restoration and liberty. He would have liked to put himself at the head of a great Protestant League,—such as Charles I and Buckingham tried to form in 1625, but had been prevented from forming by the Puritans of the Parliament, who had refused to vote supplies. But Cromwell was some ten years too late; the Thirty Years' War had ended in 1648. Nations might in the future fight for profit or glory; they were becoming less eager to fight for religion.

He sent Blake into the Mediterranean to suppress the Mohammedan pirates. Tunis was successfully attacked, and English trade protected. Here too he followed the policy of Charles I, for the Ship-money fleet had done something similar in 1637.

France and Spain were at war, as usual. Cardinal Richelieu had died in 1642 and Louis XIII in 1643. Louis XIV was young; his mother Anne and the Italian Cardinal Mazarin governed France; the great nobles, led by Prince Condé of the blood royal, rebelled against the Crown and called in aid from Spain. Would Cromwell make alliance with France or with Spain? At one time it seemed as if he would help Spain, in spite of his Protestant leanings. He demanded, as the price of his alliance, freedom for English merchants from the Spanish Inquisition and full right to trade with the Spanish West Indies. His terms were rejected. So he sent out a buccaneering expedition under Penn, father of the founder of Pennsylvania, in the track of Drake and Raleigh; the island of *Jamaica* was occupied, but was then considered to be of little value. Thereupon Spain declared war and Cromwell allied himself to Mazarin.

At sea Blake won new laurels. Following Drake's example he kept his fleet upon the enemy's coast, paralyzed

his commerce, and sent home even more booty than Drake had ever seized. The booty was acceptable to Cromwell in the midst of his money troubles. But worn out by his tremendous exertions Blake at last died at sea. For the land war Cromwell, according to the terms of his alliance with Mazarin, sent 7000 infantry to join the French army of Marshal Turenne. In the battle of the Dunes, fought just outside *Dunkirk* in 1658, these English had the chief share in defeating the Spaniards. The town of Dunkirk fell, and was handed over to Cromwell as the price of his assistance.

Was Cromwell wise to help France? This policy has been much blamed. It is said that he helped to raise France and to depress Spain at just the critical moment, and thus to spoil the balance of power by throwing the weight of England into the wrong scale. But such critics forget that they know the subsequent history of France, and Cromwell did not. Let us remember our former argument, that Henri IV and Cardinal Richelieu, and Cardinal Mazarin, had been all in turn tolerant rulers, and the Edict of Nantes was in force; could Cromwell have possibly foreseen that young Louis XIV would nearly thirty years later violate that Edict and persecute the Huguenots? Moreover, the rebel French nobles with the aid of Spain seemed quite likely to overpower Mazarin; could Cromwell well have foreseen that after Mazarin's death, after victory over both the rebels and Spain, Louis XIV would become the strongest military despot in Europe? Cromwell was indeed responsible for the rise of France, but it was not possible for him to know how France would use her new strength.

On September 3, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, at the age of 59: it was the day of Dunbar and of Worcester. Since he had nerved himself in 1647 to defy Parliament, his life had been one long mental strain. His signature at the end of his reign was barely legible, and shaky like that of an old

man. Eleven years of agony of mind seeking to find out what was God's will wore him out. He knew that he ruled England without "authority," simply by the sword; and this he did deliberately to prevent worse things from happening, to keep both Stuarts and Presbyterians from seizing the power, and to prevent another civil war. Therefore, again to give the conclusions of our leading historian, Dr S. R. Gardiner, all Cromwell's services to England were negative; he broke down Charles I and the Royal Prerogative, he stopped Presbyterian tyranny in both England and Scotland, and he turned out the Rump which wished to sit for ever. He taught Europe that Englishmen could fight, though this may seem strange praise to give to a Puritan; on the other hand he made Englishmen hate the idea of a standing army maintained by overpowering taxation. Let us repeat that the expense of maintaining army and navy was so great that he was bringing England to the verge of bankruptcy; therefore he could make the might of England appear great in the eyes of foreigners, but was exhausting England's resources to do so. The army, some 70,000 strong in 1652, had fallen below 30,000 by 1658. To the navy had been added since 1649, whether new built or prizes from various enemies, over 200 ships of all classes; but economy was already spoiling its efficiency. Cromwell's love of freedom of conscience, his sincere piety, his refusal to make a great private fortune, were forgotten by those who could only see the red coats. He seriously damaged the very cause of Puritanism for which he lived and worked.

Yet we are forced to admire his manliness. He was no coarse-minded tyrant like Henry VIII. Like Blake, he thought it his duty "to prevent foreigners from fooling us." He was thorough, and a matchless organizer of victory. Yet he added to the permanent possessions of England only Jamaica, and it was not till after his death that the cultivation of the sugar-cane made Jamaica rich. In Ireland he intensified the national hatred.

Who shall succeed the Usurper? The old question of course recurs. We understand the succession of the eldest son in an old established monarchy; we can also understand the rule of a strong usurper; but for the son of an usurper to succeed by natural right is illogical. Other strong men think themselves quite capable of taking the usurper's place, as in this case did Generals Lambert and Fleetwood. Richard Cromwell, Oliver's eldest son, was declared Protector, and had the support of his brother Henry in Ireland and of Monk in Scotland. But he abdicated in May, 1659. The Rump was restored and made an effort to control the Army; Lambert turned it out again.

The destiny of England rested on the shoulders of one man, George Monk, a soldier of fortune from boyhood and ex-royalist, who after the execution of Charles served Cromwell as the only possible ruler. He had the true soldier's instinct to obey the existing government which gave him his pay, the government *de facto*; by serving it he served England, whether against the Scots by land or the Dutch by sea. On the other hand, Lambert had been a lawyer and had suddenly displayed great military skill during the civil war; his idea was that the soldiers should control the government and so provide their pay. The question would be settled by the red coats themselves of whom less than 30,000 were now in arms, but very many old soldiers were ready to join them. Would the majority of them think the same as Monk or as Lambert, prefer to be servants or masters? Anyhow no rising of Cavaliers had a chance against them, if they were united.

Monk was more fond of acting than of arguing. He gradually collected the troops in Scotland, got rid of all but loyal officers, and crossed the Tweed at Coldstream on January 1, 1660. His own regiment is still known as the Coldstream Guards. He had the support of the Presbyterians and the Scots, the officers of the fleet, the citizens

of London and Hull and other ports, and old soldiers such as Fairfax who roused the militia of Yorkshire. But there was no fighting. Lambert's soldiers melted away. The Rump was once more restored, and when Monk reached London in February he found it sitting. At last he spoke, and declared for the restoration of the full Long Parliament as it had been before Pride's Purge; it declared for a *Free Parliament* and dissolved itself. Everybody knew that this meant the *Restoration* of the Stuart dynasty. Monk's wish to have a strong government *de facto* could only be satisfied by the restoration of the one legal government *de jure*. At least he had saved England from military rule, with endless civil war as an alternative.

Note to Third Edition

There has been no intention in this chapter to depreciate the services of Blake by coupling the ship-money fleet's action at Sali with his attack on Tunis. Every one knows that he comes next to Drake and the Elizabethan group, and is the second strong link in the chain leading up to Nelson. He was not a mere landsman suddenly called to sea, nor was he a mere hard fighter. His tactical skill at the Kentish Knock in 1652, when he ran aground to give his captains a mark by which they could steer inshore of the Dutch, was a forecast of Nelson's skill at the Nile. The Rump and Cromwell deserve all praise for turning out ships, a dozen a year, but it remains that the resources of England were being overstrained. It is not "bias" to say this, or to point out that Puritans were fighting the Puritans of Holland for trade and not for principle.

CHARLES II, 1660—1685

THE CLARENDON CODE: 1661—1665.
PLAGUE, 1665. FIRE, 1666. DUTCH IN THE MEDWAY, 1667.
TRIPLE ALLIANCE, 1668. TREATY OF DOVER, 1670.
LAST DUTCH WAR, 1672—1674.
TEST ACT, 1673.
TEN THUNDEROUS YEARS: 1678—1688.

Charles met the envoys of the Free Parliament at Breda in Holland, and agreed to their conditions. This practically meant that the Restoration of the Monarchy was also the Restoration of Parliament. He bound himself to pay all the arrears of the army, to pardon his father's enemies, and to leave untouched the land-settlement; as he could only raise money through Parliament, and as the regicides could only be exempted from the general pardon by Parliament, Charles II was therefore clearly restored as a constitutional king. His main purpose in life is clear; he meant "never to set out on his travels again." Yet, short of defying the nation to execute him or to exile him, he meant to have as much power and as much pleasure as he could.

He landed and passed along the old Dover road towards London. On Blackheath he found the army drawn up, and through excited crowds who wore an oak-leaf and oak-apple as a royal badge he entered the city on May 29. Of course he had been hiding up an oak after Worcester in the month of September when the leaves were thick; May 29 is "oak-apple day" because the badge was worn then in 1660, in honour of his wonderful escape, but in that month

the leaves would not be thick enough to hide any one. Scott gives a fine account of Charles' ride to London at the end of *Woodstock*.

Parliament at once exempted the regicides from the pardon, executed Harry Vane, though he had not been one of Charles I's judges, and had the bodies of Cromwell and others dug up. Lambert cringed and saved his life.

The Army Disbanded and Reconstituted. The first thing of all was to get rid of the big expensive army. Arrears of pay had to be met in full, and thus Charles began his reign by incurring a heavy debt. Naturally therefore economy was the chief consideration of Parliament. We so often hear the war policy of Cromwell praised in contrast to that of both Charles I and Charles II that it is necessary always to remember that neither of them ever had as much money to spend as he. The disbandment was carried out gradually by Monk, who was created Duke of Albemarle. The men disappeared peacefully into private life, but during the next few years there was ever a supply of good recruits available for war.

A very small army was retained and was the direct ancestor of our present Royal Army. Some needy Cavalier exiles were formed into a Life Guard, and a regiment of Foot Guards (known as the Grenadier Guards after Waterloo); Monk's own regiment was reconstituted as the Coldstream Guards; some Scottish mercenaries, lent by Louis XIV and kept in England, are now the Royal Scots, the 1st Foot; a similar corps of English mercenaries from Holland are now the Buffs or 3rd; the 1st regiment of Cavalry, and the 2nd and 4th of Foot, were originally the garrison of Dunkirk, and later on of Tangier. It must be added that the discipline was very bad, and that roughness and rowdiness prevailed such as Cromwell would never have tolerated.

The Episcopal Church as Restored. A new Parliament was elected and sat at intervals from 1661 to

1679. It is known as *the Cavalier Parliament*, for the temper of the nation was very strongly anti-Puritan. The Presbyterians had combined with the Cavaliers to recall Charles, not through love for the Stuarts, but chiefly from hatred of the Independents and the Army which had prevented the establishment of a Presbyterian Church. The restored Cavaliers took their revenge on both Presbyterians and Independents; men who had been reviled as "malignants" for several years, and had heard their executed king styled "the man of blood," were not likely to make a difference between the two sets of Puritans. Similarly after years of heavy fines, of exile in some cases, of compulsory Sabbath-observance and repression of pleasure and amusements, it was natural that the Cavaliers should sneer at Puritans and live a life of pleasure.

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, was Chancellor[1]; he had been an old opponent of Strafford when the Long Parliament first met, and had devotedly served Charles I after Strafford's death. It was a Restoration of Parliament as well as of King, but of a Parliament determined to govern solely in the interest of Cavaliers and of Church. To put back the Royalist nobles and gentry to the position that they had enjoyed in 1642 was impossible; Parliament could not afford to repay them for past compositions and fines. But to restore the old Church was possible. Four laws were passed which came to be known as the *Clarendon Code*, though Clarendon himself had advocated a more tolerant policy. By the *Corporation Act* only Churchmen might be members of town councils. By the *Act of Uniformity* all clergy had to accept the Prayer Book or quit their livings. The *Conventicle Act* forbade all meetings in chapels. The *Five Mile Act* exiled Puritan clergy from towns. The Code is hateful to our ideas of right; yet Puritans had treated the Churchmen roughly in their day of power.

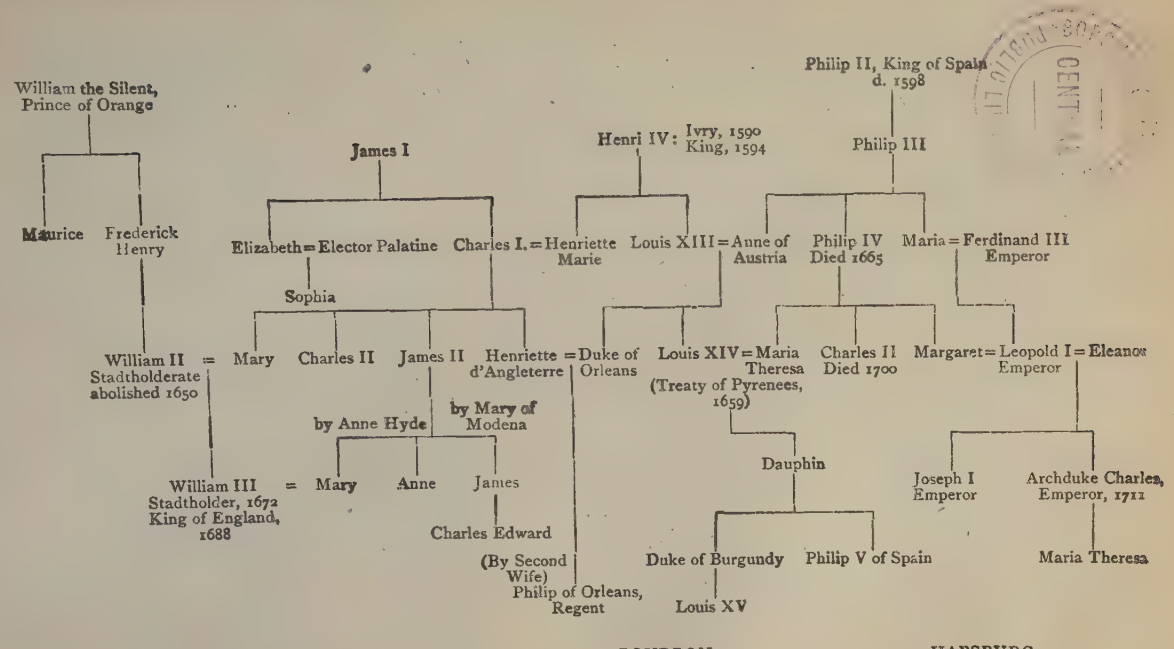
[1] Clarendon took his title from the little place in Wiltshire where Henry II issued the "Constitutions of Clarendon" just 500 years earlier.

From this time Protestants who are not Churchmen have usually been called Nonconformists. John Bunyan was imprisoned for many years in Bedford gaol; he was not, however, very badly treated; he was frequently allowed out on parole, and was released at last by the king's Indulgence.

Clarendon and the Portuguese Match. Portugal had regained freedom from Spain in 1640, and had received help from Cromwell. Charles now married a Portuguese princess, Catharine of Braganza; as her dowry he received Tangier and the island of Bombay. *Tangier*, though just outside the straits, may be considered our first Mediterranean possession for the protection of our commerce. Clarendon sold *Dunkirk* to Louis XIV, and the garrison was transferred to Tangier, where there was incessant war against the Moors; it was abandoned in its turn some twenty years later. *Bombay* was handed over to the East India Company, who made their headquarters there. Henceforward England was constantly the ally and protector of Portugal against Spain; yet the Portuguese merchants resented being forced to grant trade privileges as the price of English help.

Clarendon was very unpopular. He was a stiff and cold man of old-fashioned views; the gay young race of Cavaliers disliked him. His daughter, Anne Hyde, secretly married James Duke of York, Charles' brother. Charles and Catharine had no children; therefore people thought that Clarendon was scheming to make his daughter queen. By the sale of Dunkirk he was suspected of filling his own pockets.

In this reign the *Carolinas* were colonised, grants of land being made to Cavalier nobles and others; yet it was not till nearly a century later that the hot damp climate was found to be suitable for growing cotton. In the next Dutch war we shall find New Amsterdam conquered and re-named *New York* in honour of James; family names


William the Silent, Prince of Orange
Maurice
Frederick Henry
James I
Elizabeth = Elector Palatine
Sophia
Charles I. = Henriette Marie
Henri IV: Ivry, 1590 King, 1594
Louis XIII = Anne of Austria
Philip II, King of Spain d. 1598
Philip III
Philip IV Died 1665
Maria = Ferdinand III Emperor
William II = Mary
Stadtholderate abolished 1650
Charles II
James II
Henriette d'Angleterre = Duke of Orleans
Louis XIV = Maria Theresa (Treaty of Pyrenees, 1659)
Charles II Died 1700
Margaret = Leopold I = Eleanor Emperor
by Anne Hyde
by Mary of Modena
Dauphin
William III = Mary
Stadtholder, 1672 King of England, 1688
Anne
James
Charles Edward
Joseph I Emperor
Archduke Charles, Emperor, 1711
(By Second Wife) Philip of Orleans, Regent
Duke of Burgundy
Philip V of Spain
Maria Theresa
Louis XV
ORANGE
STUART
BOURBON
HABSBURG

such as Roosevelt and Vanderbilt still remind us that New York was originally Dutch. Later the Quaker Penn, son of the conqueror of Jamaica, founded *Pennsylvania*. Under Prince Rupert's patronage the *Hudson Bay Company* was organised to exploit the great North West for fur.

Rise of France under Louis XIV. The Restoration of Charles corresponded with a new development of the royal power in France. The Treaty of the Pyrenees was made with Spain; the long period of wars between the French Crown and the French nobles backed by Spain was over; Louis XIV, reigning in reality as well as in name after Mazarin's death, was a stronger king than even Henri IV, or than Louis XIII when Richelieu was at his prime. Under Louis XIV many great men contributed to make France great. Colbert re-organized the finances so that the money might come to the king's treasury and not stick in the tax-gatherers' hands; he built roads and canals and ports, so as to utilise the vast natural wealth of France; he strengthened the colonies, and created a new royal navy. Louvois organized a national trained army such as Europe had never yet seen. Turenne was the great marshal, and left behind him a race of scientific officers. Vauban planned the fortresses. Poets and preachers made French literature a brilliant model for all countries. From this reign dates the ascendancy of the French language, phrases, and ideas; one hardly knows whether to attribute this most to the military or to the literary glory of France. At one time or another during the reign were annexed large tracts of land, Roussillon at the eastern end of the Pyrenees, Franche Comté bordering on Switzerland, Artois and a part of Flanders, containing the great cities of Lille, Arras, Cambrai, and Valenciennes, all at the expense of Spain; most of Alsace and Lorraine at the expense of Germany. Little cause for wonder is there that Louis should have been saluted as "Le Grand Monarque." His absolute power was such that he said of himself, "L'Etat, c'est Moi."

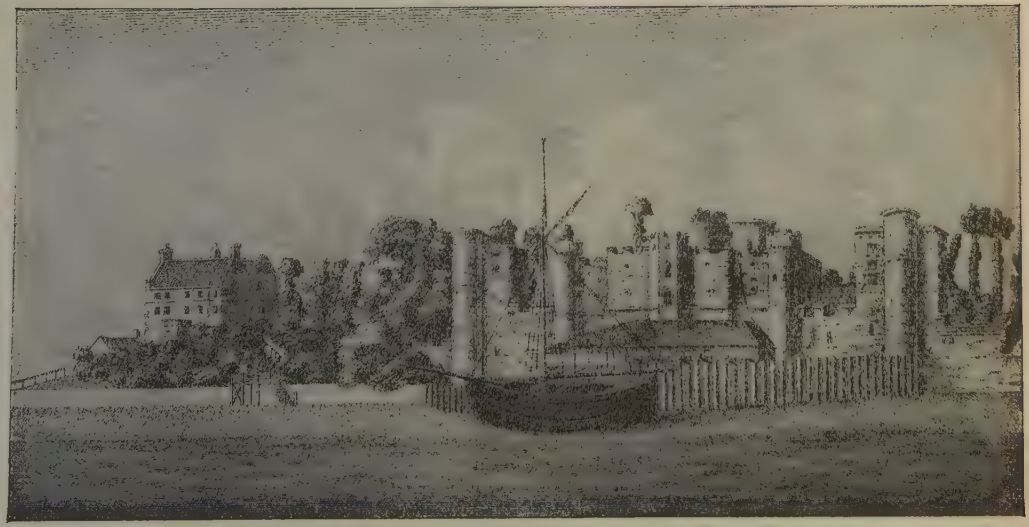
How would France use her new and growing power? Holland had been her old ally. Spain, the old enemy of both, had suddenly collapsed. England had been raised by Cromwell. The three strong powers began to look upon Spain, if we may use a phrase applied much later to Turkey by Tsar Nicholas, as "the sick man of Europe." The Spanish Netherlands lay between and seemed a tempting prize. The alliances of the next few years are puzzling, because neither England nor Holland could foresee what were Louis' designs. As a matter of fact, every possible combination was made: England fought Holland and France, then suddenly allied with Holland and Sweden against France, almost at once allied with France against Holland, and at last, when the aggressive and even persecuting designs of Louis were openly revealed, called in William III from Holland and finally ranged herself against France.

The Second War against the Dutch. But in the early days of Charles II France had not yet appeared to be dangerous. Our national rival seemed still to be Holland. Parliament passed a Navigation Act even stronger than the Rump's Navigation Ordinance. English and Dutch colonists fell out in both the East and the West Indies. The Dutch government was still republican under the lead of the brothers John and Cornelius de Witt; young William III of Orange was debarred from the stadtholdership. War first broke out on the coast of West Africa on account of some slave-trading stations. Then an English squadron seized New Amsterdam. In 1665 and 1666 some very fierce battles were fought at sea, where the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and Monk opposed De Ruyter; it was the same heavy style of fighting as in the days of the Rump. Once Monk fought for four days and seemed to be beaten. He refitted, was out again six weeks later, and won a victory. As before, there was no crushing overthrow of either fleet.

Dutch and English ships in the Thames

During these years occurred two notable disasters. *The Great Plague* broke out in 1665, and *the Fire of London* in 1666. The two combined influenced the war very seriously. Parliament voted $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions one year, then $1\frac{1}{4}$, then $1\frac{3}{4}$, but it was impossible to collect the money; Londoners had buried their coin. Indeed it is wonderful that the fleets should have been so well equipped as they were in these two years. In 1667, just as conditions of peace were being discussed, the Council decided to lay up the ships in harbour. It was a terribly unwise policy, but intelligible The defences of the harbours were in bad repair, and sailors and workmen were mutinous for lack of pay. Promptly De Witt ordered De Ruyter to sail for the estuary of the Thames. For two months the Dutch held the river and destroyed commerce; three days running they sailed up *the Medway* at high tide to *Chatham*, carried off the "Royal Charles," and burnt three other first-rates, besides doing great damage to smaller craft. London was in a panic. Monk went to the front, shamed the men back to their duty, and restored the batteries, so that the Dutch did not attack Chatham again. Shortly afterwards peace was made at *Breda*.

It is difficult to apportion the blame. Certainly Charles was amusing himself while the ships were burning at Chatham; he and his courtiers seemed to live for amusement. Samuel Pepys, an official at the Admiralty whose diary is well known, summed up the king very cleverly: "He has a bewitching kind of pleasure called sauntering.....He hates the very sight or thought of business." Yet the appearance of sauntering was the mask of a clever brain. One can never be certain that Charles was only devoted to pleasure, and a careless air may be put on to hide real anxiety. At any rate want of ready money was the primary cause of the Medway disaster. The Treaty of Breda was not at all to the disadvantage of England. We kept New Amsterdam, otherwise New York,



Upnor Castle, north bank of the Medway, opposite to Chatham

and secured the whole of the Dutch Colony on the North American coast. Charles was as keen as anyone to wipe out the disgrace; indeed, if the negotiations of the next few years seem to be underhand, they were at least popular so far as Charles aimed at getting even with the Dutch.

George Monk

When money was again forthcoming, ships were built and our fleets were strong again; up to 1673, some 140 ships, either new built or prizes from the Dutch, were added to the Navy.

This war ruined Clarendon. We saw that he was

already unpopular because of the marriage of his daughter to James, and the sale of Dunkirk. Now people were ready to make him the scape-goat for plague and fire and naval disgrace. Impeachment was threatened. Charles, not being prepared to use the Royal Prerogative to shield him, gave him a hint to exile himself. He went to Jersey, and there finished his *History of the Great Rebellion*; the Clarendon Press at Oxford preserves his name.

Chatham

Another great man now quits the stage. George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, died full of years and honour on January 2, 1670; he had seen the tenth anniversary of his passage of the Tweed. Let a quotation from Pepys be his epitaph: "That blockhead Albemarle hath strange luck to be loved, though he be the heaviest man in the world, but stout and honest to his country."

Treaty with Holland against France. Louis had been so far the ally of Holland, though taking little share in the naval war as his fleet was only in the making. He

had married a Spanish princess, renouncing all claim to the throne of Spain through her; yet, when Philip IV of Spain died in 1665, he claimed a part of the Spanish Netherlands. French armies over-ran Artois and the southern part of Flanders. Both the English and the Dutch were alarmed.

The English ambassador at Brussels was Sir William Temple, "an unusual man[1]," who foresaw that England ought to give up all thought of revenge against Holland because of this new French danger. He talked of the growing might of France as "this great comet that is risen of late." He had a private talk with De Witt, came over to England to talk with Charles, and returning to Holland startled the world by making, in 1668, *the Triple Alliance* between England, Holland, and Sweden, against France. He was indeed an unusually clever man when he persuaded De Witt to give up Holland's old ally and make terms with Holland's old enemy. The action of Charles is easy to understand. He wanted to trick De Witt into a sense of false security, and to teach Louis that England's alliance was worth something; when Louis was ready to offer alliance to England, he would be on his side ready to break the Triple Alliance and then obtain revenge for the Medway disgrace. Of course two commercial rivals, who had fought each other so fiercely and so recently, could not long remain hearty allies.

Since Clarendon's fall Charles had had five ministers whose initials make up the word *Cabal*; it is a Hebrew word and signifies a body of secret conspirators. They were not at all like a modern "cabinet." Charles consulted all or some or none of them, as he chose. Clifford was a Roman Catholic; so also was Arlington, but he favoured alliance with Holland. Buckingham, son of Charles I's favourite,

> "Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong.
> Was everything by starts and nothing long;
> But, in the course of one revolving moon,
> Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon[2]."

[1] Sir J. R. Seeley. [2] Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel.*

Ashley, Lord Shaftesbury, was a clever intriguer and an old Cromwellian. Lauderdale was secretary in Scotland, an old Covenanter turned Churchman, and therefore regarded as a renegade.

Treaty with France against Holland. Louis, in spite of the Triple Alliance, retained Artois and French Flanders. He was more angry with De Witt than with Charles, and soon was ready for a new bargain. Henriette Marie, mother of Charles and aunt of Louis, had always favoured an Anglo-French alliance. Another Henriette, Charles' sister, had married the Duc d'Orléans, Louis' brother; she left the French court in 1670 to pay a visit to Charles at Dover, and returned a few days later with *the Secret Treaty of Dover* in her pocket. Only Charles and James, Clifford and Arlington, were fully in the secret. Politically England was to join France in an attack on Holland; probably not a man over here, except Temple, had any objection to getting revenge on Holland with French help; Shaftesbury cried out "Delenda est Carthago," our commercial rival must be crushed. But there were also religious clauses; king and duke were to declare themselves Roman Catholics, and Louis would help them against Parliament with men and money.

Charles, the pleasure-lover, cannot have been in earnest on the religious question. He really wanted to be free from the control of Parliament, even the loyal Parliament of Cavaliers and Churchmen. Of course when the secret leaked out he offended them bitterly. Therefore this treaty marks a turning-point in our history; the very men, or the sons of the men, who had fought and died for the Crown, were turned now against the Crown; belief in Divine Right and the duty of Non-Resistance was at stake. Charles himself, seeing how fatal the step would be, drew back; but James became a Roman Catholic.

Third Dutch War and the Test Act. In 1672 began the new war. Charles repudiated his debts to find the means; an unwise step, for he set against himself the

all-powerful merchant class. He issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*; that is, he would indulge, and by his Royal Prerogative save from the penalties of the Clarendon Code, both Roman Catholics and Nonconformists. So Bunyan was released from Bedford gaol. Yet the Nonconformists hated the idea of obtaining liberty as a royal favour, especially as they knew that the indulgence was really intended for the benefit of the Catholics. Then in 1673 the Cavalier Parliament passed *the Test Act.* No man might hold office under the Crown unless he were a conforming member of the Church of England, and the "test" was that he should take the Sacrament according to the rites of that Church. Charles gave the royal assent. James ceased to be Lord High Admiral; Clifford and Arlington also resigned. The new chief minister was Lord Danby.

The English and Dutch fleets fought as fiercely as ever. But De Ruyter was just able to hold Rupert off, so that no large force of English troops could be landed in Holland. The French armies of Turenne and Condé swept into the country, and seemed as though they would carry all before them. Then the Dutch nation turned against the brothers De Witt, tore them limb from limb in the streets of The Hague, and restored William III as Stadtholder; in their danger they wanted the House of Orange to lead them. He cut the dykes and saved Holland, but at a terrible cost. Certainly from this war dates the gradual decline of Holland as a Great Power.

In 1674 the temper of the English demanded peace. Our old enemy had suffered enough. Even Shaftesbury no longer wanted to see "Carthage" destroyed. Charles even went so far in 1677 as to sanction the marriage of James' daughter Mary, who was a Protestant like her mother, Anne Hyde, to William III. This match, devised by Lord Danby, bore fruit eleven years later. William III was himself half English, for his mother was Mary the elder

sister of Charles. Austria came to the help of Holland, and a general peace was made in 1678.

"The Ten Thunderous Years." Between 1678 and 1688 there was indeed peace in Western Europe, but the air was thick and heavy with the thunder of renewed war. The ambition and tyranny of Louis XIV appeared openly revealed. He increased still further both army and navy. He seized the free German city of Strasburg. He stirred up the Turks to besiege Vienna; in those days it was thought a crime for Christians to be allied with Mohammedans, and great relief was felt when John Sobieski, the gallant king of Poland, saved the city. Then came *the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, and thousands of Huguenots fled to Germany or Holland or England, carrying their arts and crafts with them. The same ten years were full of thunderous excitement in England, as they cover the end of Charles II's reign and the whole of James II's. Every event in England was influenced by what was happening in France. Finally the thunderous air was lightened when the storm actually burst, namely when William III sailed for England; then open war was a relief after the anxious peace. But this is looking ahead.

Three Short Parliaments and the Panic. Lord Danby was a Cavalier and Churchman, and strongly anti-Catholic. He had brought about the marriage between William and Mary, for which Louis never forgave him. By order of Charles and much against his own wishes, he arranged another treaty with Louis. In order to ruin him Louis disclosed this treaty, and the Commons proceeded to impeach him. Charles dissolved the Cavalier Parliament to save him.

A very remarkable outburst of excitement against Roman Catholics, known as *the Panic*, was engineered by a terrible liar of the name of Titus Oates. He concocted a story that they were going to murder Charles, put James on the throne, call in the French, and begin a reign of

persecution. Because of this so-called *Popish Plot* a number of Catholics were accused, and, among others, a peer was even executed on false evidence. Lord Shaftesbury, the Ashley of the Cabal, put himself at the head of the movement. A short-lived Parliament met. It passed the important *Habeas Corpus Act*, which laid down rules by which accused persons must speedily be brought to trial. But the greatest excitement was over *the Exclusion Bill.* Shaftesbury and his party—now nicknamed *the Whigs*, a name originally applied to the extreme Covenanters of Scotland,—wanted to exclude James from the throne. The Court party who supported Charles and James were in turn nicknamed *the Tories*, which is an Irish word. To save his brother, Charles dissolved this Parliament in 1679 and a second short-lived one in 1680.

But who could be king if James were excluded? Mary, his elder daughter, was next in order; but she was married to William of Orange, and at this date very few Englishmen wished to invite a Dutchman to be king; the memory of the Dutch wars was too recent. Shaftesbury and his Whigs pushed forward the Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles. Louis actually supported him, strong Protestant though he was, simply to keep out William.

A third short Parliament was called to Oxford. While all the country was blazing with excitement, Charles kept quite cool and sauntered through life as if he cared only to amuse himself as usual. He saw clearly that all sensible men would in time be disgusted by Shaftesbury's violence and Oates lies. The Whigs came to Oxford in arms. What Charles foresaw came to pass; the middle party, headed by Lord Halifax the Trimmer, so called because like all middle men he helped to trim the ship of state, were afraid of civil war, and were entirely in Charles' favour; better a Roman Catholic heir than Monmouth at Shaftesbury's dictation. The Parliament was dissolved, and no other was called

before Charles' death. Pleasure-lover as he was, he had saved England from civil war and was genuinely popular at this time. Louis ceased to support Shaftesbury, now that James was not to be excluded, and for the rest of the reign gave Charles money to save him from Parliament. We do not like to think of any king of ours living on French gold. Yet it was just as well that no Parliament should be called after so much excitement.

In Scotland there was actual war. The extreme Covenanters, called Cameronians after one of their preachers, were very fierce; they could not endure even bare toleration for Bishops, or for such moderate Presbyterian ministers as were willing to acknowledge Charles' government. Lauderdale and Archbishop Sharpe of St Andrews were ex-Presbyterians, and therefore considered as renegades who had been bribed over to Charles. A set of fanatics murdered Sharpe on Magus Muir. The Cameronians, badly armed but desperate, actually beat back some cavalry sent against them. But, as soon as regular royal troops were brought up, they were routed at *Bothwell Brig*, near Glasgow. The leader of the dragoons was John Graham of Claverhouse; to some Scots he stands as the ruthless tyrant and persecutor of godly Presbyterians, to others as the gallant royalist who met a hero's death ten years later; in English eyes he is a soldier ordered to put down rebellion, perhaps harsh, yet forced to do his duty on men guilty of, or at least sympathizing with, murder. The Cameronians suffered much, but we do not admire their intolerance towards those of other views. The whole story is graphically and sensibly treated by Scott in *Old Mortality*.

Royalist Reaction and Vengeance. Charles could do just what he pleased in his last four years. He sent Judge Jeffreys to examine the charters of the various towns, confiscated them, and issued new charters by which Tory town-councils could be secured. This meant that members sent to a new House of Commons would be Tories, as in

many boroughs the council elected the members of Parliament, and that juries of Tories could be secured in case of political trials. Shaftesbury, afraid of being tried for treason before an unfair jury of his enemies, fled to Holland and there died. In 1683 some of the bitterest Whigs plotted to murder Charles at *the Rye House* when he went to Newmarket races. Algernon Sidney and Lord William Russell, two prominent Whigs, were tried on a charge of

Rye House

being concerned in the plot and were executed in Lincoln's Inn Fields just outside London.

Charles succeeded in gaining his dearest wish; he died peacefully and in England. He had aimed at power, yet had not dared to provoke the nation too far, so that he met the fate of neither his father nor his brother.

The three great writers of the reign. John Milton wrote some beautiful short pieces of poetry in the reign of Charles I, and a few sonnets during the Civil War. Under

the Commonwealth he was secretary and wrote the Latin despatches of the government; also he issued pamphlets against the memory of the king, unfortunately marred by much abusive language. In his old age, blind and unhappy after the Restoration, he completed his great epic *Paradise Lost*, and *Paradise Regained*. In his last work, *Samson Agonistes*, he portrays himself in the person of the blind Samson, the sport of his enemies, the Philistines. He was

Knole Park, Sevenoaks

a thorough Independent, against Presbyter and Priest alike, and in theory in favour of entire liberty of conscience. The other Puritan writer of the reign was John Bunyan.

Quite different was John Dryden. His master-piece is *Absalom and Achitophel*, a political satire and allegory; King Charles is David, Monmouth is the favourite and misguided son, Shaftesbury is Achitophel the wily and evil counsellor. In James II's reign he became a Roman Catholic.

JAMES II, 1685—1688

Sedgemoor, 1685.
The Trial of the Seven Bishops, 1688.

This reign must be judged as a sequel to that of Charles. The critical fact was the Secret Treaty of Dover and the movement towards Rome; next was the answer of the Cavaliers and Churchmen, the Test Act; lastly we had the Exclusion Bill, the fear of civil war, and the reaction in favour of the Royal Family. Charles did not dare to defy Public Opinion by openly going over to Rome; James did go over, and his second wife, Mary of Modena, was a Roman Catholic, yet he was accepted as king.

He had his chance; how would he use it? If he had been content with obtaining toleration, he might have succeeded; he aimed at gaining power for Roman Catholics, and failed. He offended the very same class that Charles offended, the Cavaliers and Churchmen whose fathers had died and suffered for his father, to whom the Test Act was as dear as the Great Charter. His reputation was against him. Brave and skilful as a sailor, he had got a bad name as a persecutor in Scotland after Bothwell Brig; he was vindictive against Titus Oates, who was nearly flogged to death, and indeed deserved it; and in his first year as king he delighted in cruelty against Monmouth's followers after Sedgemoor.

But what told most against James was the aggressive policy of Louis XIV and *the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*. James was not the ally of Louis, but at any

moment he might become his ally. James did not persecute in England, but it was thought that at any moment he might begin to persecute, even as Louis did in France.

The Last Battle on English soil. James had a loyal Parliament which voted to him a yearly revenue of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions; he dissolved it because he wished to break the Test Act. The Earl of Argyll rose in revolt in

Sedgemoor, seven miles from Athelney; would be under water at high-tides except for embankments and dykes

Scotland but was soon crushed. Monmouth, disappointed at losing the crown, landed at Lyme Regis in Dorset to appeal to the Protestant spirit of the nation. The country-folk and miners rallied to him, also the townsmen of Taunton and Bridgwater, strong centres of Puritanism as in the civil war, but few gentry. The campaign was feebly conducted. Churchill came up with a body of horse and hustled the insurgents, while the few regiments of the little standing

army were being got ready. Then Feversham took command, but was so slack and incompetent that even Monmouth plucked up courage to try to surprise the camp on *Sedgemoor*[1]. A night march of rustics, half-armed and wholly untrained, but enthusiastic, might have been successful, had not a great ditch barred their way. Behind it Churchill roused the regulars from their sleep, and at dawn routed the rebels. Monmouth was caught while hiding in a ditch, and though he cried for mercy was executed. Judge Jeffreys earned a bad name when he came down to hold *the Bloody Assize*, and sent to the gallows or to slavery in the colonies hundreds of rebels and sympathizers, including women and girls.

Commissions given to Roman Catholics. James was so far safe. But a new rising might occur, and foreign trained soldiers might be brought over. So it was wise to increase the standing army by some dozen new regiments; wise also, so he thought, to secure loyal officers, that is to say Roman Catholics. The Test Act stood in the way. By virtue of the Royal Prerogative he claimed the right to use his *Dispensing Power*, to dispense with and break the law. Few men had ever challenged the king's right to override the law in special cases. But James gave so many commissions to Catholics that the Test Act became a dead letter. A certain colonel was prosecuted before a full bench of judges; and at this date, as in Hampden's ship-money case, the king could dismiss or threaten to dismiss the judges. They decided that he had a perfect right to the service of all his subjects, even Catholics, and no Act could deprive him of such service. Armed with this decision he commissioned many more Catholics. The army, thus increased, was encamped on Hounslow Heath west of London.

[1] Sedgemoor is fen-land redeemed from the sea, and not to be confused with Dartmoor or Exmoor. The battle took place seven miles from Alfred's Athelney; see p. 20.

The attack upon the Church. To secure other privileges for Roman Catholics James issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*; he would indulge, or save from the penalties of the law, those who violated the Test Act and other acts. Of course he hoped to secure the good will of the Non-conformists also. But, as in his brother's reign, they hated the idea of accepting a favour intended for Roman Catholics. He only won over the Quakers. Next he wished to open to Roman Catholics the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; in particular he forced a Roman Catholic President on Magdalen College, Oxford, and turned out the Fellows, filling their places with Roman Catholics. Lastly he put on their trial the Archbishop of Canterbury and six Bishops who refused to order their clergy to read in church the Declaration. He certainly did not lose his throne by these acts alone. But he offended the whole body of Churchmen; and by so doing he made them waver in their belief in the sacredness of the Divine Right of kings. Non-resistance was all very well when Charles I was king, so they thought, but was resistance to James so wicked? Excitement was once more at boiling point when *the Trial of the Seven Bishops* came on, and on their acquittal London went mad with joy, and even the soldiers on Hounslow Heath cheered loudly.

The Invitation sent to William. People might have endured all this, and even more, if a son had not been born to James and Mary of Modena. Here was the last straw, for of course the child would be brought up in his father's faith. There was but one person to whom to appeal. William III of Orange, husband of James' Protestant daughter Mary, was already arming and collecting allies against the French. Jealousy between England and Holland was forgotten, and an invitation was sent across to him. But the naval and military preparations were by no means easy. If a few men rose against James, they would meet the fate of Monmouth; if William sent or came him-

self with a big organized army, and if blood were once shed, that old jealousy might break out again. Louis might try to meet the invading fleet at sea and stop it; or he might invade Holland while William was in the act of invading England. But James refused aid from Louis, probably wisely, so that he might show that he trusted to English loyalty alone against the Dutchman. Louis had, as despots often have, too many irons in the fire; in 1688 he sent a great force to invade Rhineland, and William was free to sail to England.

The "Glorious" Bloodless Revolution. In the days of sailing ships an invasion of England from France was difficult, for any wind that helped the attack would also help the defence. But from Holland, lying opposite the angle of Kent, an enemy could sail to our east or south coast whatever wind might be blowing. In this case the "Protestant" wind carried William to Devonshire while it blew James' defending fleet back into the Thames. William landed at Brixham in Tor Bay on November 5. His army was not entirely composed of Dutch, hereditary enemies of England; he had also the English and Scottish mercenaries in the Dutch service, French Huguenots, Germans, and Danes. James' army reached Salisbury. Then some officers came over to William, amongst them John Churchill, and Anne and her husband, George of Denmark. The loyalists were without a leader and fell back without plans. James fled, was caught and brought back, but luckily fled again and escaped to France. If civil war was to be avoided, it was just as well that he should go at once. It would have been a national misfortune if he had remained to pose as a martyr, imprisoned as was his great-grandmother by Elizabeth, or his father by Cromwell and the Army. He had had his chance and had misused it; he had shown his character in his revengeful treatment of Monmouth's followers, and he had violated the Test Act so far that law

was dead; but he departed in time to save England from the horrors of civil war.

The Crown awarded by Parliament. A *Convention*[1] Parliament met in January 1689. James had abdicated by exiling himself, and had taken his baby son with him. A *Declaration of Rights* was drawn up, not a law, but a general statement of the conditions on which the crown should be awarded; the Dispensing Power, "as used of late," was declared to be illegal; so too was the maintenance of a Standing Army without consent of Parliament; Parliaments must be held frequently. Accepting the clauses of the Declaration, William and Mary were made king and queen jointly. Had Mary alone been nominated, the decision of Parliament would not have been so marked. But William, not being in the direct line, was nevertheless put on an equality with her. So we have here the final unchallenged right of Parliament to award the crown as its gift. Yet Burke says very truly that only a slight deviation was made on this great occasion. After all, the important power is not Parliament itself, but Public Opinion. We shall see in the following reigns that often Parliament does not represent Public Opinion, but in 1689 it did. Of course the strict doctrine of the Divine Right and of the duty of Non-Resistance to kings was finally killed.

Let us sum up: James, in his anxiety to break down a bad law, practically broke all law; so he lost his throne.

[1] A Convention is a Parliament called to meet without royal summons.

WILLIAM III AND MARY,

1689—1694—1702

LONDONDERRY, 1689. KILLIECRANKIE, 1689.
THE BOYNE, 1690. MASSACRE OF GLENCOE, 1692.
BATTLE OF CAPE LA HOGUE, 1692.
THE BANK OF ENGLAND FOUNDED, 1694.
CAPTURE OF NAMUR, 1695. TREATY OF RYSWICK, 1697.

William's whole life was passed in the midst of anxiety and alarms. As a boy he had been excluded from the Stadtholdership by the Dutch Republicans; in 1672 he was called to take that office when the French invasion burst upon Holland, the De Witts were murdered, and he saved his country by cutting the dykes. Ever after he was the steady enemy of France. He was a cold, reserved man, so deeply engaged in the absorbing study of politics that he had no time for the softnesses of life. The murder of the De Witts, his treatment of the Irish, and the massacre of Glencoe, set people against him, though he was guilty of acquiescing in and profiting by what others did rather than of originating evil things himself. Yet he was not the selfish calculating Dutchman that some writers make him out to have been. In particular, the accusation that he cared nothing for England, and that he dragged England into war simply for the sake of his beloved Holland, is unfair, for our country gained enormously by the war. Certainly he

was not popular. Nor was he quite the perfect and noble character that Lord Macaulay painted. On the other hand Mary was popular and thoroughly English; her death in 1694 was a blow which he felt keenly, though he had not been kind or affectionate to her.

What this reign did for England. The coming of William to be our king meant, first of all, the *Supremacy of Parliament.* Of course the Prerogative was not abolished; William managed all his foreign affairs himself; he could veto any law, and did veto several. The Declaration of Rights only condemned the Dispensing Power "as used of late," that is, as James II had recklessly used it. But Parliamentary control over the king's ministers was won before the end of the reign. Two things led to *annual sessions*, though the Declaration said "frequently," not "yearly." First, the Mutiny Bill was passed annually, and held good for one year only; the king was thus forced to call Parliament every year if he wished to have control over the army. Secondly, the Commons arranged for an annual budget; when ministers had money to last for but one year, they had to meet the Commons every year.

William at first chose his ministers from the Whigs and the Tories as he liked. But soon he saw that they were so totally opposed to each other in their views that he had to choose from one Party only, namely, that Party which had most votes in the Commons: here are the first seeds of our modern system of *Party Government. The Whigs* held that *Parliament* was superior to the Crown; they favoured *toleration* for Nonconformists; they had the support of the *commercial* and banking classes and were therefore particularly strong in the cities; and they supported *the war* against France, both to keep out the Stuarts and for the supposed benefit of England's growing trade. *The Tories* still professed to believe that the *Crown* should be stronger than Parliament; were strong *Churchmen* as against both Roman Catholics and Nonconformists; were the party of

the *landed* country gentry and farmers as opposed to the merchants and bankers; and, whether secretly or openly, *disliked* the French *war*. Of course not every Whig or Tory held all these views. Danby was a keen Churchman and Tory, yet in favour of the war; Godolphin was a clever financier, yet a Tory. Though the vast majority of landowners were Tories, some of the richest landowners, such as the Dukes of Bedford and Devonshire, were Whigs; their position in the House of Lords, and the great influence which their wealth gave them over the Commons, led them to uphold the superiority of Parliament.

Toleration in religion was now definitely settled by *the Toleration Act*. This only means that worship was at last free, and the Conventicle Act was cancelled. The Test and the Corporations Acts were still in force. Many Nonconformists, in order to get over the difficulty, conformed occasionally, that is, took the Sacrament in church a few times a year, and then went back to their chapels, having thus qualified to hold office. Roman Catholics were still excluded from holding any office.

But, above all, the coming of William to England meant open war with France. Between 1688 and 1815 we fought seven long wars, and during four of them Holland was our steady ally. The prize, though hardly any one could see it then, was the British Empire. In six of these wars we had many allies and exhausted France in the long run; she found it difficult to keep up both fleet and army; we gave most attention to our fleet, and yet by adding our small army to the armies of our allies distracted her attention to the land from the sea. This is what Lord Roberts meant when he recently said that our army has won our Sea Power for us. Louis XIV and Napoleon suffered alike by being unable to spare men or money for the sea. In the War of American Independence alone France had the allies, and Great Britain was isolated and lost control of the sea.

The Jacobite[1] cause in Scotland. The perfectly distinct and independent Parliament in Scotland declared James to be deposed, and elected William and Mary. The Presbyterian Church was finally restored, and Episcopalians were kept down, not to say persecuted. The great majority of Scots were for William. But the loyal servant of James, John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, raised some of the Highland clans. He had the gift of leadership, of awaking enthusiasm, just like his kinsman Montrose. Scott's stirring poem is well known:

> "The Gordon demands of him which way he goes;
> 'Where'er shall direct me the shade of Montrose.'"

He defeated with one rush of claymores an army of lowland Scots under General Mackay at *Killiecrankie* in north Perthshire. But he himself died in the moment of victory. We are forced to admire Claverhouse and other Jacobites, who bled or went into exile, losing all for the Stuart cause; unselfish devotion to an idea, loyalty without thought of reward, is too rare to be sneered at. Aytoun's *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers* do them justice in simple beautiful verse.

Mackay rallied his troops; Claverhouse's successor could not hold the Highlanders together. The country was reduced to peace, and *Fort William* lying beneath Ben Nevis is a memorial of this reign. In general there was little cruelty or revenge. But the case of the MacDonalds of Glencoe was exceptional. Their chief delayed to take the oath of allegiance to William till too late, the last day being December 31, 1691. The Master of Stair, meaning to make an example, got an order from William for the extirpation of the clan. Some soldiers of the Campbell clan were quartered on Glencoe, and treated with hospitality, then suddenly slaughtered many of the MacDonalds. William's share in the guilt of *the Massacre of Glencoe* is confined to his neglect to punish adequately Stair and his men when the truth of the story came out.

[1] Jacobites are followers of James.

The Jacobite cause in Ireland. It was a much more difficult task to pacify Ireland. The Roman Catholics rose everywhere and turned off the land the Protestant settlers, whether the descendants of James I's colonists in Ulster or the Cromwellians of the centre and south. It was a national Irish movement against English supremacy. James came over from France in the hope of re-conquering England from Ireland; Louis gave him some French troops, but not nearly enough, nor did he send a fleet to intercept reinforcements from England. The Protestants retreated to *Londonderry* on the river Foyle, and to *Enniskillen* between upper and lower Lough Erne. The Irish in 1689 closely besieged Londonderry, and constructed a boom across the Foyle to cut off any relief from the sea. The defenders held out heroically, being inspired by the words and example of George Walker, a clergyman. Then a relieving fleet arrived from England, and after some delay three ships under the command of Captain Leake charged and broke the boom. Londonderry was saved when at the last gasp of starvation. A force from the fleet also moved on Enniskillen and helped its defenders to win the battle of Newtown Butler.

In 1690 William came over in person to take command of the mixed army of Dutch, English, Protestant Irish, Huguenots, and Germans. Moving from Ulster southwards he forced the passage of *the Boyne*, where the Irish broke and fled, while their few French allies covered their retreat. No man can ever accuse Irishmen of cowardice; they broke at the Boyne because they mistrusted James. Indeed he cared only for Ireland as a base for the re-conquest of England, while they were fighting for national independence from England. James at once returned to France. William occupied Dublin.

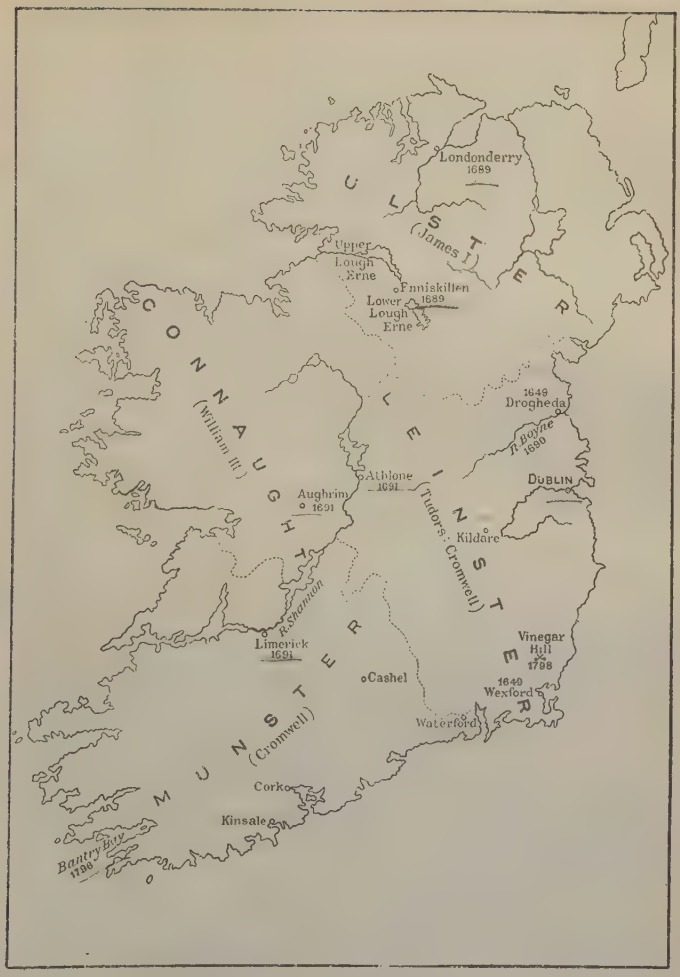
We are surprised that Louis did not pour troops into Ireland and send his fleet to dispute the mastery of St George's Channel against William. The French navy was

still young and inexperienced, yet large and ambitious. But Louis only used it this year to fight off *Beachy Head*, where it gained a victory over the English and Dutch ships owing to a misunderstanding between the admirals; Herbert, the English admiral, was in consequence unfairly accused of being a Jacobite and a traitor. A few French troops were landed on the coast of Devon and did some damage, but an outburst of patriotic enthusiasm proved that the English nation was very strongly anti-Jacobite and anti-French.

The year closed with the capture of *Cork* and Kinsale, two valuable ports, by Churchill, newly created Earl of Marlborough. But William's attempt on Limerick failed. Sarsfield, who has been rightly called the Irish Claverhouse, held out bravely and animated his countrymen, even after James had deserted them.

In 1691 a Dutch general crossed the Shannon at Athlone, beat the French and Irish at Aughrim, and closed in on *Limerick*. This ended the Irish war. Limerick surrendered on condition that religious and political liberty should be enjoyed by Roman Catholics as under Charles II. But the Parliament at Dublin was now entirely composed of Protestants, and they determined to assert their ascendancy. The terms of the surrender were violated. *The Penal Code* of very severe laws was built up against Catholics: they might not sit in Parliament or vote at Parliamentary elections, or practise law or medicine, or hold commissions in army or navy, or any government post; an heir who turned Protestant might seize his father's estate; lands were restored to the Protestant settlers, and more were confiscated across the Shannon, a district which had been left untouched by Cromwell. The memory of this treatment, added to the memory of the Cromwellian rule, is at the root of the feeling against England which remains to-day. For many years to come Irish soldiers in the French army charged to the cry of "Remember Limerick."

This war caused much bitter feeling between the English



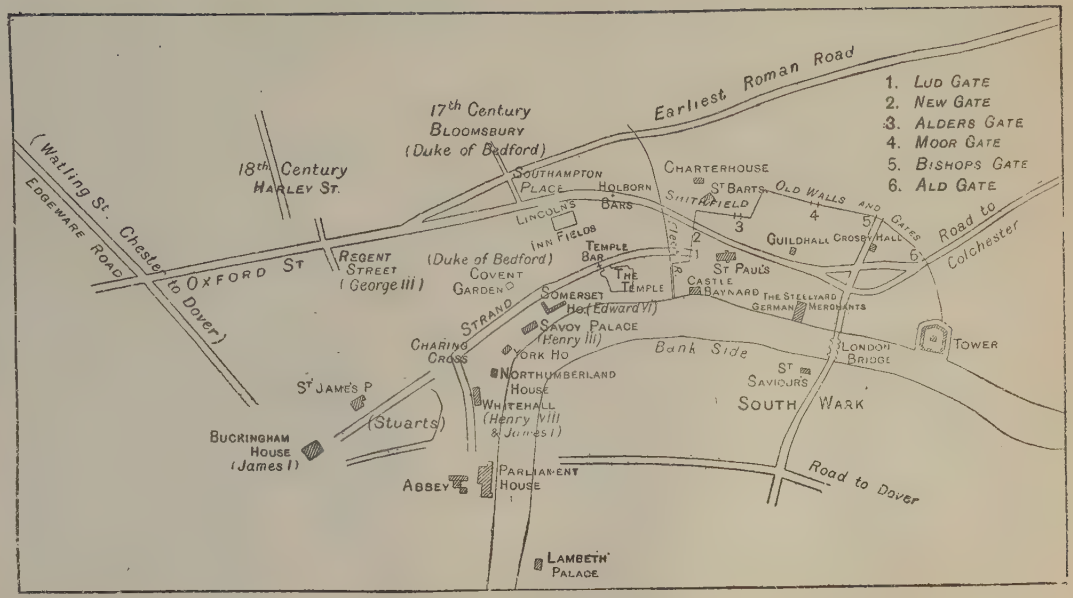
Ireland: Stuarts and George III

and the Dutch officers. Marlborough in particular was offended and was the mouth-piece of discontent. He was stirring Anne against her sister Mary, and so William was forced to dismiss him from his service.

War against the French by sea. In 1690 the French fleet had been victorious and there had been a French landing in Devon. In 1692 an attempt was made to invade with a large army from Normandy, for Louis thought that the Jacobite feeling was growing in England. Admiral Russell foiled it by his victory at *Cape La Hogue*. He was not a Nelson, yet his victory was nearly as important as Trafalgar. He followed up by an attack in boats, and burnt fifteen ships as they lay near shore under the eyes of the French army. Louis was disgusted. His great minister Colbert was now dead, and he seems to have decided that, if after Colbert's death his navy was so badly beaten, he had better not waste any more money on it, but turn all his attention to the war by land. Indeed France could not maintain both fleet and army. French privateers did very much harm to our commerce, and once a large convoy of our merchantmen was destroyed on its way to the Mediterranean. But a naval historian[1] puts it thus: if English commerce be doubled by a successful war at sea, England can afford to lose a percentage to privateers; plundering raids can never take the place of organized fighting by main fleets. The same thing is true of the Napoleonic wars, even after Trafalgar. Even a nation victorious at sea must put up with the loss of some commerce. At any rate William after La Hogue was able to land his troops at will in Flanders. In 1694 Russell sailed triumphantly into the Mediterranean.

War against the French by land. Louis all his life coveted the Spanish Netherlands. Probably he neglected to help Claverhouse, and sent not nearly enough help to Ireland, because he thought that he had a fine chance to

[1] Admiral Mahan of the U.S. Navy.



London and Westminster

conquer Flanders while William was busy in reducing the Scots and Irish. Not only England and Holland, but also Spain, Austria, Bavaria, Brandenburg, and most of the German states, were allied against him. He captured Mons and Namur and other border fortresses. But after the surrender of Limerick William was able to devote all his attention to Flanders. He was beaten twice by the Duke of Luxemburg, Turenne's ablest pupil. Macaulay draws a fine picture of the hump-backed dwarf leading the French to the attack and the asthmatic skeleton coolly covering the retreat of the English and allies. William had considerable power in rallying his troops after a defeat. As King of England and Stadtholder of Holland, and trusted by his German allies, he was in a position of great power. At last in 1695 he laid siege to *Namur*, lying at the fork of the Meuse and Sambre rivers, and strongly fortified by all the art of the engineer Vauban. He stormed and captured it, —the first success of the allies over Louis' dreaded troops[1].

National finance and the war. "The last piece of gold will win," said Louis. Therefore the question was—could he, or could Holland and England combined, last out the longer? The chances were in favour of the two commercial and naval powers. From this reign we date the origin of *the National Debt*. In days gone by an Edward III or a Henry V had borrowed money for a war on his own personal responsibility, pledging it might be his jewels, and expecting to repay after the next Parliamentary grant; William III's ministers borrowed on the faith of the nation. The idea was that since war benefits future generations, they should pay their share in interest on the war loans. Then *the Bank of England* was founded. Leading merchants in London raised money to lend to government; Parliament guaranteed to them interest at 8 per cent., and created them as a body to carry on business as dealers in money. In William's reign the national finance was sound. The

[1] Map, p. 347.

bankers and those who lent any money to government were Whigs and keenly supported William against James, for the plain reason that a restored Stuart would probably repudiate the debts; they were in favour of war because they got high interest on their loans, whereas the Tories grumbled because they had to pay that interest out of *the Land Tax*. Therefore it was during the war that William found it necessary to choose all his ministers from the Whig party.

It was now that a new coinage had to be issued to stop the old practice of cutting thin shavings of gold or silver off the coins. The goldsmiths, who were the private bankers of the time, hated the new Bank of England. They bought up all the bank notes that they could get, and presented them to the Bank for immediate payment in gold. This would have meant ruin; there were not coins enough in circulation, for the new money was being made slowly. Parliament interfered and authorized the Bank to refuse for a time to pay in gold. New mints were set up under the direction of the great Sir Isaac Newton, and at last the new coins were plentiful, so that gold payments could be resumed. So the danger passed away.

Peace and Restoration of Conquests. A treaty was concluded at *Ryswick* in Holland in 1697. Louis agreed to restore the places conquered from Spain since 1678, thus himself retaining French Flanders and Artois and Franche Comté; also as Austria would not agree at once, he retained Strassburg, the great fortress and free German city of Alsace. He acknowledged William as king, thereby promising to cease to help James. But a new war was sure to come. Louis merely wanted a breathing-space; he would renew his aggressions whenever he had the opportunity.

England and William during Peace. Parliament during the war passed *a Triennial Act*. The Mutiny Bill made it necessary for Parliament to meet every year; by the Triennial Act it was decided that there must be a new election at least at the end of every third year. In 1697

there was an election. Owing to William's popularity at the time, because of the fall of Namur and the Peace, the Whigs were in a majority. Yet so great was the national dislike of a standing army that the Tories and some of the Whigs combined to cut down its numbers. Time after time we shall find the same thing happening; fear of a new Cromwell who might become a military despot, and fear of a great National Debt, lead to reductions in the army; then when a new war breaks out the soldiers are ignorantly blamed for not winning victories at once. In this case it was a very dangerous policy, for Louis was still formidable and ambitious. Gradually the old jealousy against William revived; the army was cut down to 7000 men and his Dutch guards were dismissed.

The Jacobite Conspiracies: Marlborough. It is very difficult to trace in this reign the truth of the stories about Jacobite plots. There were plenty of genuine Jacobites who wanted to see James back again, not only Roman Catholics, but also High Church Tories who still believed in the Divine Right, and were called Non-Jurors because they refused to take an oath of allegiance to William. Some of them even plotted to murder William, and an Association was formed to protect him, as a century ago to protect Elizabeth. But the difficulty is when we are asked to believe that William's ministers and friends, some of the very men to whom he owed his throne, corresponded with James; for instance Danby, the old minister of Charles II, who had been a strong opponent of James, Godolphin the financier, Russell the victor at Cape La Hogue, and above all Marlborough. Mere gossip explains much; a few chance words of anger against William and his Dutch favourites, when repeated from mouth to mouth, would soon be exaggerated into words of downright treason. An offer of help to James might be mere lip-service, a sort of "hedging" in case he really were restored. Jacobite spies were notoriously untruthful; even Lord Macaulay

hesitates to believe them except when their evidence tells against Marlborough.

Here we have the question narrowed down. Macaulay's famous *History of England*, really a history of the reigns of James II and William III, has as its central hero William himself. Marlborough's glory in Anne's reign seems to eclipse William's; so Macaulay believes every libel that tells against Marlborough, even if anonymous; he suppresses evidence which would tell against others more strongly than against Marlborough. Take the story of the information said to have been given by Marlborough to James, and passed on to Louis, that an English fleet and army were going to attack Brest in 1694. The Jacobite spies implicated many others besides Marlborough; the letter that Marlborough is said to have written does not exist, and the French "translation" may have been forged; in any case the date is later than the date when Louis had already given Vauban orders to fortify Brest. But Macaulay writes as if Marlborough, and he alone, had given the information in a letter still extant. In fact in reading his account we cannot avoid being prejudiced in Marlborough's favour.

Attempt to Found a Scottish Colony. The Navigation Act was still in force, by which all English colonial trade had to be carried on in English ships. Commerce continually grew, and the Whig merchants were prosperous. The only addition to our colonial empire was *Calcutta*; *Fort William* was erected to protect it. Scotland and Ireland, having separate Parliaments, were counted as foreign countries and could not trade with English colonies. So a body of Scottish merchants tried to found a colony of their own. But they managed badly. They chose a site at *Darien* on the Isthmus of Panama; the climate was vile, and the land belonged to Spain, which country above all others William wished not to offend; the English merchants in Jamaica were jealous. Failure was

the inevitable result. The Scottish nation lost a great deal of money, and unfairly accused William and the English of deliberately ruining their colony. William saw that the only sensible thing to do was to unite the Parliaments of England and Scotland so that they might form one nation for trade and government. This policy he bequeathed to Anne, in whose reign his favourite Whig minister Lord Somers and his warm supporter Daniel Defoe brought about the Union.

Unluckily he bequeathed to Anne a bad policy of repressing Ireland by strong penal laws against Catholics.

Who shall be the new King of Spain? The "sick man of Europe" had for some years past been the once dreaded and warlike Spain, and Louis had been her constant enemy. Louis had married Maria Theresa, sister of King Charles II of Spain, but had renounced for his descendants any claim that they might have through her to the Spanish throne. Now Charles was dying and was childless. Louis wanted to secure the throne, not for himself, nor for the Dauphin, nor for the Dauphin's eldest son, but for the second son Philip of Anjou. But the powers of Europe were afraid to allow a Frenchman to hold Spain, and still more to hold the Spanish Netherlands; the "sick man" was wealthy, and might revive with French help; Philip, if allowed to rule, would be under his grandfather's control. Thus, though it strikes us as strange that foreigners should dictate to the proud Spaniards, they—and especially William and the Dutch—felt justified in interfering. They forced Louis to agree to a Partition Treaty, by which a Bavarian prince, grandson of another sister of Charles, was to succeed to Spain and the bulk of the Spanish Empire. But he shortly died. So by a second *Partition Treaty* they chose the Archduke Charles of Austria, second son of the Emperor, a grandson of an aunt of Charles of Spain. Obviously Philip had a better claim than the Archduke, as sister is a closer relation than aunt[1].

[1] See p. 301.

But the allies had left out of consideration the proud temper of the Spaniards themselves, at least of the Castilians. Charles II of Spain at last died, and bequeathed his crown to Philip; the nation accepted Philip, partly because the allies wanted to force the Archduke Charles on them, partly because they were unwilling to see their great empire split up. Louis sent French troops to support him, and occupied in his name the fortresses of the Netherlands and Italy.

The English nation was cool at first and opposed to the idea of war. The Tories were in power in 1700, and William had had to dismiss his Whig ministers. Even Tories did not like to see French garrisons in the Netherlands. Yet they did not sanction war till Louis made a bad blunder. The exiled James II died, and Louis acknowledged his young son—we know him as the Old Pretender, because it was said that he was not really James' son,—as James III of England. Then the war spirit surged up in England. William dissolved Parliament, and at the new election of 1701 a majority of Tories, but anti-French Tories, was returned.

The Electress Sophia of Hanover. The last act of the reign was *the Act of Settlement*. Of course William's successor would be Anne. But all her children had died, and who was the next heir? By the Act the main Stuart line was barred out for ever. After Anne, was chosen Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover, daughter of Elizabeth of the Palatinate, and granddaughter of James I. In any case she was Protestant heiress, as her brothers Rupert and Maurice had died childless, but she was named by the act definitely and beyond doubt.

We do not expect such an act from a Tory Parliament. But that party made a virtue of necessity. Also they added clauses that would control the action of any future German king; for instance, no king might dismiss any judge at his own pleasure, and thus was destroyed one of the most

valued powers of the Stuarts[1]. English law-courts have ever since been absolutely free from royal interference.

William's health was frail and he suffered from asthma. In 1702 he died from the shock of a fall from his horse in Hampton Court Park. The Jacobites drank to the health of "the little gentleman in black velvet," namely the mole which threw up the mole-hill over which the horse stumbled.

[1] See p. 260 Hampden's case; and p. 319 Colonel Hales' case.

ANNE, 1702—1714

Blenheim and Gibraltar, 1704. Ramilies, 1706.
Almanza, 1707.
Oudenarde, 1708. Malplaquet, 1709.
The Tories come to power, 1710.
Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

The Union with Scotland, 1707.

She is always known as Good Queen Anne, for one hardly knows what else to call her. She was not clever. Like all the Stuarts she could be obstinate and a strong hater; and she was strongly attached to the Church. At the crisis of her reign in 1710 the fate of the country seemed to turn upon her whim of the moment—whether she would be influenced by her old and patriotic, but overbearing, favourite, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, or by the new favourite whom the Tories pushed forward, Mrs Abigail Masham née Hill. Her husband, Prince George of Denmark, was a nobody.

John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. Let us look back at this great man's early career. He owed everything at first to James when he was Duke of York; scandal loves to dwell on the stories of his early life, but scandal is ever a bit pharisaical. He fought and learnt his first lessons in war under Marshal Turenne in 1672. He was the best soldier at Sedgemoor, but was disgusted by James' cruelty after that battle. His desertion of his patron James can only be justified if we assume that he had a really conscientious wish to secure a Protestant

king for England, and most people turn against him because he is supposed to have afterwards betrayed William's plans to James. But it is clear that William deprived him of all his offices for a different reason, namely because he was the

John Churchill, Lord Duke of Marlborough

mouth-piece of the discontented English officers who objected to having Dutchmen set over their heads. The story of the Brest treachery is difficult to unravel, but when we see how unfairly Macaulay twisted every bit of evidence and gossip that seems to tell against him we are rather

prejudiced in his favour. At least William on one occasion scornfully refused to listen to a tale of Marlborough's treachery, saying that he could not believe it of his friends, and on his deathbed recommended him to Anne. It was lucky for England that she made him Captain-General and trusted him for at least eight years.

He is represented as being selfish and miserly. But no man ever had more bitter enemies, and he has been badly treated in literature, for besides Macaulay there are Swift and Thackeray against him. Of course Thackeray for the purpose of his novel *Henry Esmond* paints him simply as his enemies knew him. Jonathan Swift was his contemporary, and in 1710 attacked him with all his cleverness and venom for a political reason: in order to bring about peace, the successful general must be denounced as a monster. He was unpopular at that date because the nation wanted peace, and, because of this unpopularity, all his actions were misrepresented and mere gossip passed for truth. His widow passionately defended his memory against the charge of miserliness; was she more likely to be telling lies than Swift? Here is one fact on the other side: he gave up all his Blenheim bounty money to the soldiers of his army.

He was not only great as a soldier, he also controlled the government and the national policy, in part directly, in part through his devoted friend Godolphin who was Lord Treasurer. Only under Cromwell, under Marlborough, and under the elder Pitt, has the nation waged an entirely successful war, one reason for their success being that there was no ignorant civilian ministry to thwart them. His organization was thorough. He alone could persuade the sluggish Dutch and Germans to greater energy; he alone could dissuade Charles XII of Sweden from helping France. If ever the war went badly in one direction, it was because he was not there on the spot, and the allies did not work well together except under his own eye. He

co-operated wonderfully with Prince Eugene without a trace of jealousy. He was cool and far-sighted, calm in battle, "a brain packed in ice[1]"; Eugene was hot and enthusiastic, and raged with the fury of battle.

We can trace a development in the art of war through Gustavus Adolphus, Cromwell, and Turenne; Marlborough, if a slang phrase be allowed, went just one better. He profited by military reforms that others had begun. All his foot were armed with the new flint-locks and socket-bayonets, and by ceaseless drill he made them fire very rapidly with their bayonets fixed. His cavalry he trained to charge with the naked steel, wave after wave, till the enemy were broken by his last reserve. Sieges were to him quite secondary. He anticipated Napoleon by the quickness of his marches, planning his campaigns on a wide scale which his allies could hardly understand. Having beaten the armies he would snap up the fortresses as the prize of victory.

Eugene merits a word. He came from the ducal house of Savoy, but was brought up in France. The domineering Louis XIV insisted that he should be a priest. He fled to Austria and entered the Emperor's service. Try to imagine the French king's feelings when he heard afterwards of Eugene's victories. Later on he contributed more than any other general to break the military power of the Turks.

Allies and Resources on each side. Against William III Louis had fought alone. Now he had all the resources of Spain on his side, the invaluable fortresses of the Netherlands and North Italy. He did what Napoleon did with conspicuous success just a century later; he profited by the lack of union in Germany, and he made Bavaria his ally, and so got a direct line of attack upon Austria. Sweden might perhaps join him, and the Hungarians were often in revolt against Austria. His will was law to all the French armies. As France lay in the

[1] Said by the late Mr G. W. Steevens of Sir Hector Macdonald.

middle between the allies, he could reinforce one army from another as he liked, being on the inner lines.

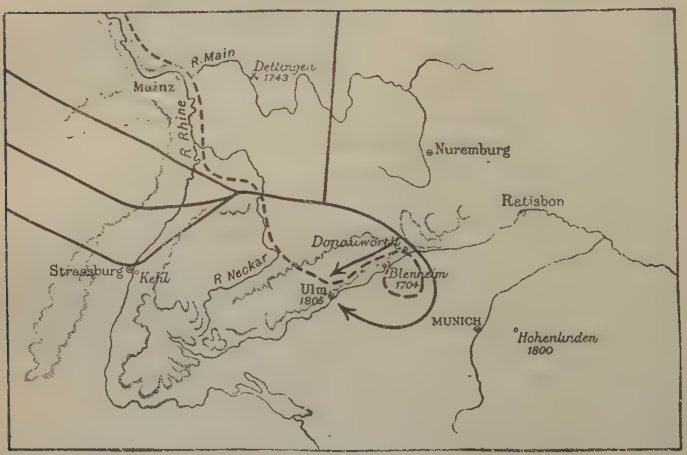
The allies were England, Holland, Denmark, Austria, Brandenburg, whose Elector had been raised in 1701 to be King of Prussia, Hanover, Baden, and other German states. Their weakness was their lack of unity, which at times thwarted even Marlborough. Two small states were more important than one would think; Savoy gave to the allies the valuable Alpine passes; Portugal gave to their fleets the harbour of Lisbon as a base. To secure Portugal, the old ally of Cromwell and Charles II, Methuen made a treaty by which port wine paid less duty on entering England; unluckily when strong port was cheap, and men drank it in place of light French claret, the national curse of intemperance was aggravated.

The War of the Spanish Succession saw little done in 1702 and 1703. Marlborough was creating his army, and only captured Bonn and Liège as bases from which to attack the Spanish Netherlands from the east. Villars, the ablest marshal of France, designed an attack upon Vienna through Bavaria, but he quarrelled with the Elector and was recalled. A naval expedition under Rooke failed to capture Cadiz, but destroyed some treasure-ships in Vigo harbour. Marlborough disliked such a policy of mere raids by sea.

At home the first ministry was composed of Tories. Those among them who were lukewarm on the question of war were by degrees weeded out.

Campaign and battle in Bavaria. In 1704 the great design of Villars was entrusted to another marshal, Marsin, who joined the Elector of Bavaria; Tallard supported him on the Rhine; Vendome was to come up from Italy; meanwhile Villeroi faced Marlborough in the Netherlands. Then Marlborough rose to the occasion. He saw that he could safely disregard Villeroi, and launched his British troops on a cross-march from the Netherlands, up the Rhine and the

Neckar, to the upper Danube. He joined Eugene and the allied Germans, and headed off Marsin and Tallard and the Bavarians at *Blenheim* in Bavaria. Here with his cavalry he broke the French centre and cut off their right wing against the Danube; Tallard and 11,000 prisoners were taken. Of the 55,000 allies in the actual battle only 9000 were British, but the brunt of the fighting fell on them, and both the battle and the daring march which led



Bavaria and the Black Forest

Marlborough's march in 1704

Napoleon's march in 1805

to it were due to the Englishman. Bavaria was crushed and useless to Louis as an ally; Austria was saved; French prestige was broken, and the French armies were put on the defensive; such were the results of Blenheim. One hundred and one years later the storm of war once more burst into Bavaria. But in 1805 there was no Marlborough to help the Austrians, and Napoleon's great campaign of Ulm and Austerlitz was the Blenheim campaign reversed.

By this instance we see how Marlborough regarded the theatre of the war as a whole, just like a chess-board; the Dutch kept their eyes only on a few squares, and did not wish him to leave their neighbourhood. But a petty war of sieges was not to his taste. The same year he designed another campaign in Spain to distract Louis. Rooke's capture of *Gibraltar* was the result. A battle was fought against the French fleet off Malaga and was drawn; yet, as they retreated into Toulon harbour, it was as good as a victory.

The Allies gain ground in Spain. In 1705 and 1706 Marlborough had his eyes on the Mediterranean. Since the French fleet had retreated from Malaga, the Sea Power was on the side of the allies, and their troops could be landed anywhere. He was not satisfied with Portugal or Gibraltar as a base of attack; on the other side, Catalonia, with Barcelona as its capital, lay like a wedge between the rest of Spain and France, and the Catalans were always enemies of Castile and Madrid. He entrusted the campaign to Lord Peterborough. In 1705 the Anglo-Dutch fleet carried round a force which seized *Barcelona*, and the Archduke Charles was saluted as Charles III of Spain. In 1706 a French army and fleet besieged the city to re-take it; Sir John Leake, whom we last mentioned at the relief of Londonderry, came sailing up; the French retreated without fighting, and never struck another blow to dispute the command of the sea. Other places on the coast fell to the allies. An Anglo-Portuguese army advanced from Lisbon under Lord Galway, and seized *Madrid*. But you never know when Spaniards are beaten. The Castilians rose as one man, and Galway had to evacuate Madrid[1].

There is some doubt as to whether Peterborough was a charlatan or a genius. Even if he was a brilliant leader of surprises and irregular warfare, he was of a queer temper and could not get on well with his allies. He has been praised by Macaulay, chiefly because his fame was con-

[1] Map on p. 431.

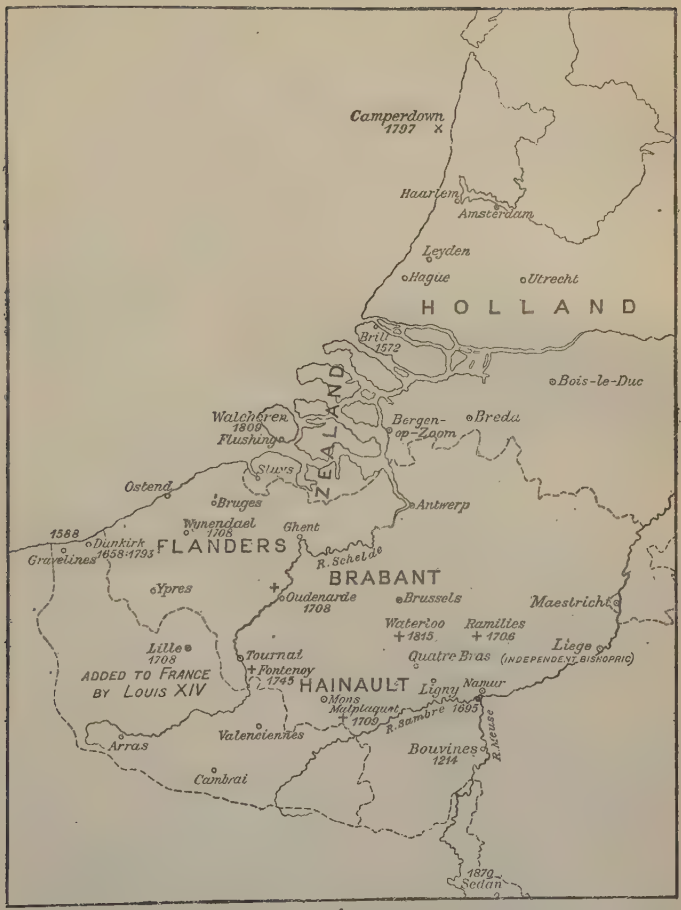
sidered to rival Marlborough's. Galway was a Huguenot refugee and an old friend of William III.

Campaign in the Netherlands. Meanwhile Marlborough had to face a line of fortifications in the Netherlands. At last in 1706, he caught the French, under the incapable Villeroi, at *Ramilies*, a few miles east of Waterloo. He won his second crushing victory, almost solely with the troops of the allies, and used the English to follow up and seize the prize of victory. Brussels and Antwerp were taken at once; Ostend fell after a siege. All Flanders and Brabant were won, and the French were driven back to the border fortresses. The Dutch governed the conquered districts and made themselves very unpopular. With Antwerp and Ostend in his hands Marlborough was now nearer to England, and could get his supplies and recruits much more quickly.

Eugene was equally successful in North Italy. He drove the French along the Po, beat them at *Turin*, and could threaten France.

Could peace have been made at this moment after the triumphs at Barcelona, Ramilies, and Turin? Negotiations were begun and broke down; nor is it surprising, for so great a king as Louis could not take defeats tamely. France was capable of more effort. Indeed peace now would only have meant another short breathing-space.

The Allies are worsted in Spain. Not only did the French make a great effort in 1707; they gained victories. Marlborough had got his wedge, Catalonia, between France and Spain, and wanted now to attack south France and to leave Madrid alone. The capture of Toulon would ruin the French power in the Mediterranean; and Toulon could be attacked by Eugene from Italy, and by a mixed force of allies from Barcelona under the escort of the fleet. But the Archduke Charles could not understand; the Emperor had other plans; Peterborough had to be recalled. Lord Galway advanced once more on Madrid with some English



The Netherlands: to illustrate reigns of Elizabeth, William III, and Anne

and Portuguese; at *Almanza*, 180 miles south-east of Madrid, he met the French and Spaniards under the Duke of Berwick, and was badly beaten; notice that the English were commanded by a Frenchman who was a Huguenot exile, and the French by an Englishman who was a Jacobite exile. Eugene by himself was repulsed from Toulon.

Next year the fleet under Leake with an army under Stanhope occupied *Minorca*, but too late for Marlborough's main design. But though the allies were thus foiled in Spain, and only Catalonia and Minorca were the fruits of much effort, the policy of weakening France from the south was good. The foundations of our Sea Power in the Mediterranean were laid. Marlborough's conception of a fleet as the base of a land attack upon an enemy's weak spot was admirable.

Meanwhile he was drawing closer to the Whig party. Old Whig ministers, such as Somers, the friend of William III, were being brought into the ministry. After Blenheim the Tory Parliament had voted to Marlborough the royal manor of Woodstock in Oxfordshire, and the ugly mansion, Blenheim Palace, was being built. But the Tories were cooling in their liking for war.

The Union of England and Scotland. Godolphin and Somers were able at last to carry out William's policy, and they were ably supported by the pen of Defoe. The Scots hated the idea of an amalgamation of Parliaments, thinking that it foreshadowed the loss of national independence. The question was really urgent. If Anne should die, would Scotland accept a king from Hanover? If a king were chosen who was not the choice of England also, would the old Franco-Scottish alliance be revived? But there was no other candidate possible. The great Presbyterian majority of the nation were against the Roman Catholic Stuarts. The Duke of Hamilton, though he had Bruce's blood in him, was a man of no character. The Scots found themselves forced to accept *the Union*. They

were to have the same king; to send sixteen peers, elected by the Scotch peerage, to the Lords, and forty-five members to the Commons; but to retain their own Presbyterian Church, and their own Law Courts. It followed as a matter of course that all Scots could under the Navigation Act trade with English colonies and with England. They lost a Parliament of their own and gained a world-wide commerce. The first Union Jack was now designed, the white cross of St Andrew on a blue ground being joined to the red cross of St George on a white ground.

Campaign for the Border Fortresses. In 1708 the allies concentrated their attention upon the Netherlands, and Eugene was on his way to join Marlborough. But the French began the campaign. The Duke of Vendome took advantage of the hatred of the Flemings against the Dutch to burst into Flanders along the river Schelde; they welcomed him, and opened the gates of Ghent and Bruges, but Antwerp was too strongly garrisoned. Then he feinted to attack Brussels and drew Marlborough thither, but dashed aside to seize *Oudenarde* on the Schelde. By one of his very rapid marches Marlborough just reached Oudenarde in time; Eugene, leaving his army behind, rode up in time to fight and was put in command of the English on the right wing. Vendome was for attacking the allies as they came up and hoped to beat them piecemeal. But the Duke of Burgundy, Louis' grandson, interfered and drew the French off. Then, in the afternoon, when the allies were in position, Burgundy repented and attacked, was surrounded, and decisively beaten.

After the victory Eugene's army joined Marlborough's. The Duke was for an invasion right into France, the Prince was afraid to run the risk. So they laid siege to the great French fortress of *Lille*. The Duke covered the siege against Vendome's efforts to relieve, and the Prince mined and assaulted. On one occasion a large convoy was being brought up from Ostend, and a French force tried to

intercept it at *Wynendael*, but was beaten off by General Webb with half their numbers. Marlborough omitted Webb's name from the despatch which announced the victory, yet corrected his error a few days later when he had better knowledge. His enemies pounced upon this incident, accused him of betraying Webb, and said that he was jealous; the story appears in Thackeray's novel, and many people still believe the silly insinuation. At last Lille fell, and Ghent and Bruges were recovered.

The Whigs fail to make peace. The House of Commons under the Triennial Act had in 1703—5 been mostly Tory, in 1706—8 half Tory and half Whig; at the election in the autumn of 1708 there was a Whig majority. Marlborough and Godolphin definitely, though reluctantly, joined the Whigs to gain their support in the war. Peace was again discussed in 1709, and Louis was willing to abandon the cause of his grandson Philip. The Whigs and the Dutch required some guarantee that he was in earnest; he was to help them to expel Philip from Spain, a demand which did not meet with Marlborough's approval. The insult was too great; Louis declared that, if he must fight, he would rather fight for than against his own flesh and blood. He appealed to the patriotism of all classes in France, and not in vain. The capable Villars, who had never yet faced Marlborough, was put in command, and down to the lowest ranks all served with the utmost enthusiasm and without pay.

The allies besieged and took *Tournai* on the Schelde, and advanced on *Mons*. Villars came up to *Malplaquet* on the border ten miles off, and constructed some strong entrenchments between two woods. Marlborough and Eugene stormed the lines with very great loss, and then Mons fell. But Villars had covered himself with glory, for he lost only 12,000 men and the allies 20,000; it was the biggest battle of the war, and some 100,000 fought on each side. Then an outcry rose in England against such a

slaughter, an unfair outcry, because in every war there must be losses.

The Tories and peace at any price. The storm against Marlborough came now to a head. He and the Whigs were accused of prolonging the war needlessly; the late failure to make peace, due to the cruel demand made upon Louis, had been followed by needless slaughter; the National Debt was mounting up, and, men said, it paid the Whig merchants to go on fighting because they lent the money to government and got six per cent. interest, which Tory gentlemen paid out of the Land Tax. Why should England spend gold and blood to fight an Austrian Archduke's battles, and to win border fortresses for the Dutch? Why indeed, except that my lord of Marlborough might win glory? These arguments are clearly wrong. Marlborough was not to blame for the peace fiasco, but his Whig friends; the outcry about Malplaquet was unfair; the allies were winning victories for us as much as we for them, for the English were never more than a fifth or sixth of the entire allied army; France was being so weakened that the triumphs of Wolfe and Clive a half-century later were really due to Marlborough. No man could foresee the great expansion of our world-empire, which this war rendered possible, but it was very clear that we were not merely fighting to please the Dutch and Austrians. Marlborough, however, made the great mistake of requesting Anne to create him Captain-General for life. Fear of military despotism, fear that he would be the new Oliver Cromwell[1] at the head of a victorious standing army, was at the heart of the nation.

Great issues and petty occasions are often mixed together. Robert Harley, the Tory leader, got the ear of Queen Anne through Mrs Masham. A certain Dr Sacheverell preached a political sermon against Godolphin and the Whigs, was prosecuted and condemned, and became

[1] Sir J. R. Seeley, *Growth of British Policy*, vol. II, especially p. 346.

a popular martyr. The outburst of fury of virtuous churchmen against the Whigs occurred just at the time when nation and queen alike were weary of war. But the lady and the preacher occasioned rather than actually caused the Tory reaction; they were the match, not the gunpowder. Without waiting for the end of its third year Anne dissolved Parliament in 1710 and dismissed Godolphin. The Tories got a majority at the autumn election, and Robert Harley and Henry St John formed a Tory ministry.

The Duke's position in 1710 and 1711 was much weakened. He had no longer control of the organization for war. He and Eugene captured more fortresses on French soil, and outwitted the heroic Villars. But a new campaign in Spain ended in failure; Madrid was occupied once more, and once more evacuated, as in 1706 by Lord Galway, for the Spaniards were resolute to stand by Philip; such a mere isolated campaign was altogether against Marlborough's views. Harley was working secretly for peace. The Duchess was dismissed by Anne, and the Duke was attacked on the ground that he appropriated money from the bread-contracts. His defence was clear; he had taken this money, but it was his secret service fund, and no general was ever better served by his spies and scouts. But the chance was too good to be lost, and he was dismissed in order that peace might be made.

Since the end of 1710 Jonathan Swift had been writing on the side of the Tories and peace. His bitter attacks upon Marlborough evidently caught the popular fancy, especially a pamphlet *The Conduct of the Allies*. We can also trace his motives in a diary written to the lady whom he afterwards married, *The Journal to Stella*. He hoped that Harley would at least make him a bishop in reward for his services. He wrote more strongly than Steele and Addison, the Whig scribes, and even Defoe had not such influence. Of course we can easily understand Swift and Harley and St John: they wanted peace, and Marlborough

must go. But it is indeed strange that people to-day should accept all the venomous abuse against him as if it was literally true.

A political reason and a commercial reason combined to make peace really necessary. The Archduke Charles, after the death of his father and of his elder brother, was elected to be Emperor; if he were also king of Spain, it would upset the Balance of Power. The Tory ministers could not easily borrow money for war, for Whig merchants mistrusted them and would not lend. One thing alone remained: the House of Lords was strongly Whig, and so Anne had to be persuaded to create a dozen Tory peers to secure a peace majority; Lord Masham, husband of the favourite, was one of them. The Duke of Ormonde, Marlborough's successor, did nothing in 1712; Eugene and the Germans, left alone, were beaten by Villars. The peace, discussed in 1712, was finally signed at *Utrecht* in Holland in 1713.

The Peace changes the map of Europe. The Frenchman Philip was to remain king of *Spain* and *the Spanish Indies*, but the Crowns of France and Spain were never to be united. Therefore after a victorious war the first object of the war was lost. On the one hand we see that twice had the allies taken and evacuated Madrid, that the Archduke was now Emperor, and that in the exhausted condition of France Philip might safely be left to be king. On the other hand, in the future France and Spain would be sure to be allies against us. Catalonia was handed over to the tender mercies of Philip and the Castilians.

The Spanish Netherlands were awarded to Charles as compensation. Thus in the now Austrian Netherlands both England and Holland would find a friend. The Dutch were to garrison the border fortresses; the great port of Antwerp was to remain closed to commerce. So, after all, his new possession was not very valuable to Charles.

England gained *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* at the expense of Spain; Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and

one West India island, at that of France. Here we have a definite recognition of England as a Mediterranean power, to which the ship-money fleet of Charles I, Blake's exploits, and the temporary possession of Tangier by Charles II, had led the way. Also by *the Asiento clause* England secured the right to sell negro slaves in the Spanish Indies, and to send one trading ship a year to the Isthmus of Panama. But of course England's chief gain was the humiliation of Louis; France was permanently weakened, and the conquest of Canada and India was made possible.

In Italy, Naples, Lombardy and Milan went to Charles of Austria; and Sicily to the Duke of Savoy.

The last years of Anne. Harley had been made Earl of Oxford, St John was Viscount Bolingbroke. Very naturally under a Tory régime an attempt was made to satisfy zealous churchmen. The *Occasional Conformity Act* was passed in 1711 to stop the practice by which dissenters evaded the Test Act. The Schism Act also forbade them to teach. Both were repealed in the next reign.

But the question of greatest interest was the succession. Oxford was for George of Hanover, Bolingbroke schemed to bring in James III. Now a Stuart was not personally very acceptable to Bolingbroke; but he hated the idea of a German king who would be the nominee of Parliament, and he wanted a strong Crown independent of Party Government. He intrigued with Lady Masham to set Anne against Oxford, and finally secured his dismissal for the exquisite reason that he was discourteous to her and unpunctual. Then Bolingbroke and Ormonde set to work to bring reliable Jacobite officers into the army. But it was too late. Anne died suddenly, and George I was proclaimed in accordance with the Act of Settlement.

No account of Anne's reign would be complete without some mention of the great prose writers. The political works of Defoe and Swift have been noticed, and of course *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver* are well known. Richard

Steele began a new kind of writing, amusing little articles on events of the time and on imaginary characters of the time, which he published in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. Joseph Addison followed his lead. The sayings and doings of Sir Roger de Coverley, a not over-wise, but very dear old gentleman, his servants and friends, his adventures in the country and in town, give a charming picture of contemporary life and make delightful reading. We learn of the state of the London streets, the coffee-houses and the political and other talk therein, the theatre, the quarter-sessions at a country town, the fashions, and so on. Steele originated this kind of essay, but Addison is the more charming writer. Their essays will always be read when the fierce political and religious pamphlets of this and earlier reigns have no interest for us. The novel as a means of giving a picture of life came in some years later. The chief poet of the day was Alexander Pope.

NOTE ON THE ELECTORS

In the Middle Ages, owing to troubles and wars in Germany as to who should be Emperor, a system of election was established. Seven chief men were formed into a College of Electors to choose a King of the Germans, who, when duly instituted, became the Holy Roman Emperor; for many centuries the choice fell upon the Archduke of Austria, of the family of Hapsburg. The seven were the Archbishops of Mainz (Mayence), Trier (Trèves), and Köln (Cologne), the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, the "Margraf" of Brandenburg[1], and the Count Palatine. The Thirty Years' War upset Germany very much and a new elector appeared, the Duke of Bavaria; and in 1692 the Duke of Brunswick became Elector of Hanover. See pp. 202, 249, 343, 366, 440.

[1] Margraf means "Count of the Mark or border district" of Brandenburg, a title still borne by the King of Prussia.

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER, 1714—

GEORGE I, 1714—1727

The South Sea Bubble; Walpole Prime Minister, 1721.

Many people sneer at our early Hanoverian kings, but let us be fair to them. If Great Britain had need of a foreigner for its king, it is not good manners to blame him for being a foreigner, whether he be William III or George I. We ought not to consider it a crime that each of them was fond of his native land. In the reign of George II the personal connection of Great Britain and Hanover was of great political importance; it gave us an ally in the heart of Germany and thus helped us to hold the balance against France. Later, some of Wellington's best soldiers in the Peninsula and at Waterloo were Hanoverians.

Supremacy of the Whig Oligarchy. Parliament by the coming of George I was more powerful than it had ever been before. The Whigs were in power for years, and their chief idea was that Parliament should be stronger than King. But they never saw that any other power should be stronger than Parliament, and they regarded both Houses almost as their private property. Public Opinion was to them less important than the triumph of their Party. Members were elected to the House of Commons by small towns which had been important under Edward I, by villages which had been chosen by Edward VI or Elizabeth, by small as well as large and thickly populated counties; and in both boroughs and counties very few men had votes.

The Whig leaders combined together to secure the election of their friends, by their wealth as great landowners, by direct and indirect bribery, which they called "influence." The Tories were out-voted except in a few counties; rightly or wrongly they were considered to be Jacobites at heart. If ever there were political troubles in these two reigns, we see one set of Whigs quarrelling with another set of Whigs, and the Tories hardly counted. Whoever was the chief man of the time,—from 1721 for twenty years onwards it was Sir Robert Walpole,—used the royal patronage as he chose; bishops, judges, colonels, civil servants, even quite subordinate clerks, were chosen in the king's name from among the minister's friends. Such was the Whig "oligarchy," the government by a few, merely a ring of powerful statesmen, who bribed and ruled in the name of George I and George II as if king and country belonged to them. Just now and again Public Opinion made itself heard, as when Walpole was forced to declare war in 1739 because Jenkins' ear had been cut off, and when Pitt's popularity brought him to power in 1757.

When George I's first Parliament met, Anne's Tory ministers were impeached. Oxford had to be released because no act of treason could be brought against him. Bolingbroke and Ormonde fled to France and attached themselves to the Pretender; in their absence they were attainted, and this means that if they returned they would be executed without further trial, as were Thomas Cromwell and Strafford. Marlborough was restored to office, but "the brain packed in ice" was worn out; when at the height of his fame he used to suffer from brain-fatigue after some great effort, and now he was unable to enjoy his restored power.

The Old Pretender and "The Fifteen." In 1715 an effort was made in Scotland to proclaim the Pretender as James III. A few clans rose under the Earl of Mar, but there was no general enthusiasm. Mar met the govern-

ment's troops at *Sheriffmuir*, a few miles north of Stirling, in that district which has seen so many battles; it was a drawn battle, but as good as a defeat for Mar. James landed next year, but finding his cause hopeless departed again. Louis XIV was dead; without help from France and without enthusiasm the Jacobites had no chance. A few Englishmen who rose in the north under Thomas Forster were easily crushed. Henceforward many Tories talked treason against George and drank to the health of "the king over the water," but after-dinner talk does not lead to action.

Owing to troubles thus early in the reign Parliament passed *the Riot Act*. If a mob is dangerous, a magistrate may "read the Act" and order it to disperse, and after an hour may order soldiers to fire. The general election ought to have been held in 1717 under the Triennial Act; but Parliament passed *the Septennial Act* fixing a seven years' limit. With the consent of King and Lords, the Commons coolly prolonged their life for four years more. But nothing shows more clearly the elasticity of the British Constitution; the nation was quite content not to have an election so soon after the Jacobite rising, and then consented to the Act being permanent. Of course the sovereign can at any time dissolve Parliament before the seven years are over.

Foreign policy was always influenced by the existence of the Pretender. For the time being France would have nothing to do with him; the Duke of Orleans was regent for Louis XV, great-grandson of Louis XIV, and being jealous of Philip of Spain courted the friendship of Great Britain; indeed for the next twenty years France and Spain were quite unfriendly. Naturally therefore the Pretender looked to Spain for support. That country hated Great Britain, having lost the Netherlands and Italy, Minorca and Gibraltar, and was eager to break the Treaty of Utrecht. Once a small expedition reached Scotland, but the attempt to

raise the Highlanders failed. On another occasion a Spanish fleet sailed to Sicily; without declaration of war, as at Utrecht Sicily had been given to the Duke of Savoy and no declaration was necessary, Admiral Byng fell upon it and destroyed it off *Cape Passaro*. Ultimately, by consent of the European powers, Sicily and Naples were given to the second son of King Philip. The Duke of Savoy took Sardinia, and became King of Sardinia.

Charles XII of Sweden was a war-loving monarch, and you will remember that Marlborough had dissuaded him from making alliance with Louis XIV. He had, instead, invaded Russia and experienced a crushing defeat at Pultowa, nearly 700 miles away from the Baltic, a defeat foreshadowing in some degree the future ruin of Napoleon. He returned at length to find Sweden no longer one of the great military powers as under Gustavus Adolphus. George laid claim to some land which he had held in Germany, and Charles vowed vengeance and threatened to take up the cause of the Pretender; but he was killed in Norway. Dr Johnson takes him as an example of "the vanity of human wishes":

> "He left a name, at which the world turned pale,
> To point a moral or adorn a tale."

Thus James III did little harm to George. Only when Britain was engaged in a serious war, and had the regular army abroad, would the Jacobites be dangerous. The Government was very lenient towards the rebels of "the fifteen," and could afford leniency.

The South Sea Company Scare. There was a split between the Whig ministers; General Stanhope and Lord Sunderland remained in power, Sir Robert Walpole and Townshend went out of office. During the Stanhope-Sunderland administration occurred the great commercial panic.

The South Sea Company had been formed in Anne's

reign to take advantage of the Asiento Treaty by which Spain granted to England a yearly ship and the trade in negroes. This Company and the Government made a bargain concerning the National Debt, which stood at 54 millions. Now the debts of a country are like those of an individual. I may owe five or six sums to different people each at a different and high rate of interest; I know that I can pay in time, and ask some honest money-lender to lend me one large sum at one fixed and fairly low rate of interest; now I owe all to one man alone, and can pay off the others. Just so the Government handed over the National Debt to the South Sea Company, and the public creditors became its share-holders; the Company would pay to them their interest, some at 6, some at 8 per cent.; Government would pay to the Company 5 per cent., and moreover receive over and above the bargain a bonus or lump-sum of 7 millions. No one would dream of paying 6 or 8 and receiving only 5 for the mere pleasure of being out of pocket, let alone the big bonus. The Company hoped to make great profits out of the Spanish trade with the Government's help. There was no fraud, for the trade was real. But people expected to make large fortunes quickly, and rushed to buy shares in the Company, till the £100 stock ran up to £1100. Other companies were formed and some were swindling affairs. Suddenly the public took fright and wanted to sell out; down ran the stock to £135, and a panic set in.

Stanhope died during the excitement, Sunderland escaped censure in Parliament by only three votes, another minister committed suicide, another was found guilty of receiving bribes. Walpole came into power. He took the 7 millions to save the share-holders from complete ruin. The National Debt he took back from the Company, and paid the old creditors the old rates of interest. So England settled down again after this period of speculation or commercial gambling. The Company went on with its proper

trade with the Spanish colonies, until Spain, who hated the trade, gave one million to put a stop to it. Other commercial bodies, the East India Company and the Hudson Bay Company, always kept to legitimate business and in the future added valuable possessions to our empire.

Walpole our first "Prime Minister." Walpole's fame was now secure, and from 1721 he held power for over twenty years. As a finance-minister he gradually reduced the National Debt by proper means; trade was good and so he borrowed money at 4 per cent., and paid off some of the old 8 per cent. debts. His pupil, Henry Pelham, continued to do the same afterwards, until at last 3 per cent. was the regular rate for the whole debt.

Next we admire him as a peace-minister. Peace was necessary if public debts were to be reduced. Our country needed a good breathing-space after Anne's long war. Spain frequently seemed inclined to quarrel, but not till 1739 did war break out. Unfortunately in the name of economy both army and navy were brought low.

He was our first prime minister, and the title was a nick-name. Under William III and Anne the system of Party Government had been growing up, and ministers were chosen from the party with most votes in the Commons; the chief ministers formed a Cabinet, and usually one man was most important in the Cabinet, at one time Godolphin, at another Harley. Now Walpole was so much more domineering than the other ministers that he was nick-named the Prime Minister; and his predominance was more obvious because the Hanoverian king knew no English and did not attend cabinet meetings. Step by step it came about that every minister had to agree with him or to resign. "He never could endure a rival." "He was moderate in exercising power, not equitable in engrossing it." Many of his friends had to go, Townshend, Pulteney, Carteret, Chesterfield. Therefore he had to face a very strong Opposition of discontented Whigs, while in the

Cabinet "no man durst wag a finger against him." Gradually after his time it came to be recognised that all the members of a Cabinet must agree together, and that all are jointly responsible for what each of them does, while the leader of the party decides what policy is to be pursued.

But the fame of Walpole is sadly dimmed by his system of political bribery. He used all his own influence and all the royal patronage to secure for himself votes in Parliament. There was bribery of this kind in previous reigns, especially when Harley was in power, but Walpole made the system a scandal.

His strongest opponent was not in Parliament. Bolingbroke could not get on well with the Pretender, and at last was allowed to return to England. He got back "two-thirds of himself," his right to live and his property, but not the other third, his seat in the Lords. He proceeded to use his pen, which was as mighty as his tongue. He attacked the system of Party Government, and denounced Walpole and the Whigs in general as selfish and unpatriotic; his one idea was that England should have a "Patriot King" who would stand above Party and put a stop to Party evils[1].

Era of Scientific Farming. When Townshend broke with Walpole he retired into private life. He devoted himself to improving his country estate at Rainham in Norfolk, and introduced the system of growing turnips on a large scale. It was found that when wheat and barley were alternated with turnips it was unnecessary to let the land lie fallow. Moreover the roots provided winter feed for cattle, and thus breeding was very greatly encouraged. Townshend also made experiments in manuring the ground. In fact scientific modern farming dates from his time. The

[1] Some of the best of Macaulay's work is to be found in his Essays on Horace Walpole and on Chatham. He was deeply influenced by Burke, and disliked Bolingbroke very much.

agricultural classes benefited enormously, for they had been in a bad way ever since the great spoliation in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and all the political movements from the time of Charles I to William III had done them little good. Townshend's work was carried on at the end of the 18th and the first part of the 19th centuries by Coke of Norfolk, Earl of Leicester, and by the Dukes of Bedford. It is only in our own day that corn-growing in England has ceased to pay, however scientifically a man may farm.

In spite of the disturbances of the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI the land was generally held and farmed under old conditions. Villeinage and forced labour was dead, but small holders and copy-holders had their scattered strips of land and their right to pasture animals on the village common. It was now felt that this was a wasteful system and that the land might be made more productive. Gradually during the 18th and the early years of the 19th century a re-arrangement was made, now in this village and now in that, so that each piece of land should be compact; gradually the large land-holders bought out the small men, enclosed the commons, and greatly increased their estates. The result was that the land was much more productive, and farming on a large scale may be said to have saved England from starvation in the Napoleonic period when the growth of the population was outstripping the food supply of the country. On the other hand most small holders sank to be mere labourers; no longer had each man his cow on the common, and thus milk disappeared from the countryman's diet.

GEORGE II, 1727—1760

JENKINS' EAR, 1739. AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION, 1742.
TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 1748.
THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756—1762.
PLASSEY, 1757. QUEBEC AND QUIBERON BAY, 1759.

In the House of Hanover it seemed as if every Prince of Wales was fated to be his father's enemy. George II, therefore, was expected to get rid of Walpole as soon as ever his father was dead. But the Prime Minister was too useful, and soon he had the new king's favour. Also Queen Caroline supported him. So he continued to rule both cabinet and country as under George I. Yet the Opposition grew stronger. Some young statesmen of ability were elected to the Commons, William Pitt and Henry Fox among them, who were against Walpole. He sneered at them as the "boy patriots," but they finally contributed to his downfall. Pitt sat for Old Sarum or Salisbury, a "rotten borough," which had been bought up by his grandfather, Governor Pitt of Madras. Frederick Prince of Wales headed the discontented Whigs, and his adviser was the ex-Tory Bolingbroke, the author of the "Patriot King." Thus to be a patriot was to be against Walpole and George II.

Armed smuggling and War on Spain. At last the long rule of Walpole came to an end. As in the old days of Hawkins and Drake, the Spaniards hated any English trade with their colonies. The spirit of buccaneering was still alive, and the one yearly ship permitted by treaty was

not enough. The merchants of Jamaica smuggled goods into the Spanish colonies, and the smugglers went armed; there was retaliation, and a certain Jenkins had his ear cut off by Spanish coast-guards. Then there was a loud outcry at home, Jenkins posed as a martyr, and Walpole was abused. Pitt was very bitter against him for delaying to avenge the insulted peaceful trader. But in truth this was not a war of which we can be proud. The English admiral on the Jamaica station clearly stated that "we are the authors of our own complaints"; had there been no smuggling, the Spaniards would not have armed their coast-guards. Walpole knew that there was no excuse, yet rather than resign he declared war in 1739. He foresaw trouble. "They may ring the bells now; before long they will be wringing their hands."

The fleet captured Porto Bello on the Isthmus. A sailor of whom more will be heard later, Commodore Anson, sailed in the *Centurion* round the world in Drake's track and brought home much plunder. But there our successes ended. Yellow fever, a more deadly foe than the Spaniard, crippled the fleet. There was a new bargain between France and Spain, a family compact, and France would sooner or later join against us. Walpole, previously attacked for not declaring war quickly, was now attacked because things were going badly. In 1742 he resigned. A new ministry was formed, partly by his old enemies such as Lord Carteret, partly by his old subordinates the Duke of Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham. Carteret managed the foreign policy, Newcastle the bribery, and Pelham the finance. None of them was prominent enough to be called Prime Minister.

Question of the Austrian Succession. Carteret's ministry was drawn into war against France by a new European crisis. Our old ally the Archduke Charles had reigned up to 1740 as the Emperor Charles VI. Before his death he had persuaded the powers of Europe, by a docu-

ment known as *the Pragmatic Sanction*, to recognise as his successor to his hereditary estates his daughter Maria Theresa. He died, and at once the Electors chose as Emperor one of their own number, the Elector of Bavaria; Frederick of Prussia supported him, hoping to seize Silesia, which lay between Prussia and Austria; France also supported Bavaria. Maria could only appeal to the loyalty of her Hungarians. But George II was not satisfied; in his capacity as Elector of Hanover he stood up for Maria and the Pragmatic Sanction. Carteret, who was a great favourite of George, was willing to throw the weight of Great Britain with Hanover into the war on the side of Maria against France and Prussia and Bavaria. He was following the policy of Marlborough, to help our old ally and always to oppose France. Pitt denounced Carteret as he had denounced Walpole; Britain's interests, he declared, were being sacrificed for the sake of Hanover. Some years later Pitt saw his error, and acknowledged that we in support of Hanover should weaken France by a land war, while the prize of victory was Sea Power. But for the time Carteret the pro-Hanoverian was unpopular and resigned. The Pelham brothers managed the Government, yet against their will had to continue the war begun by Carteret.

In 1743 a mixed army of British and Germans was advancing up the Main to intercept a French army which was striking through north Bavaria towards Austria; the general plan of the campaign was not unlike Marlborough's in 1704. They met at *Dettingen*, and here for the last time an English king fought in person; the French were beaten, but not crushed. In 1745 Marshal Saxe, son of the Elector of Saxony, who had entered the French service, invaded the Austrian Netherlands. The allies met him at *Fontenoy* on the Schelde, a village near Tournai and not very far from Oudenarde. A line of British and Hanoverian infantry advanced up a long gentle slope without any cover against a heavy cannonade, broke the French centre by a withering

fire, but were forced back by Saxe, who rallied his wings. The young Duke of Cumberland, George's second son, had not Marlborough's genius, but the conspicuous bravery and good discipline of our men were much applauded. But at once the army was recalled home because the Young Pretender had appeared in Scotland.

Military Costume, temp. George II
(Selected from Hogarth's "March to Finchley")

The rising of the "Forty Five." Two things have to be considered at the outset. The Highlanders, mostly Camerons and MacDonalds who hated the pro-Hanoverian Campbells, required a leader to rouse them; such was Prince Charlie, son of the Old Pretender, and known as the Young Pretender or the Young Chevalier, whose winning personality and romantic nature touched the chord of devotion in their hearts, and then they were as irresistible

as under Montrose or Claverhouse. Secondly, everybody was taken by surprise; the mass of the Scottish lowlanders, the Presbyterians to a man, and the trading classes, merely looked on, and it was not difficult for a few clansmen to seize points of vantage under such conditions. The Prince landed near Moidart on the west coast on July 25, raised his standard at Glenfinnan on August 19, slipped past a small army of regulars under Sir John Cope, and entered Edinburgh on Sept. 17. Cope came round by sea and landed at Dunbar; the Highlanders marched out and fell on him at *Preston Pans* between Edinburgh and Dunbar at dawn on Sept. 21, when one wild rush of 2500 claymores swept away the 2300 regulars in a few minutes. A short pause ensued, and then the Prince with 6000 Highlanders moved to the Border. He reached the Solway on Nov. 8, entered Carlisle, pushed along the road where now runs the L. and N. W. Railway by Preston and Manchester, and on December 5 reached *Derby*. What was he to do? General Wade had a force in Northumberland, the Duke of Cumberland had come over from Flanders and was at Lichfield. There was no general rising of Jacobites or discontented Englishmen; men who had talked treason all their lives were slow to act, and in any case a mass rising of untrained gentry and rustics would have been useless. The Prince left Derby to retreat northwards the next day. Guesses as to "what might have happened if..." are a waste of time. He might have entered London and drawn in waverers, but unless the French held the sea and landed a large army, there could have been no permanent conquest.

The Prince was not hard pressed on his return to Scotland, but he was quite unable to capture Stirling Castle. Edinburgh Castle had never been taken, and the city was re-taken by the regulars. He beat General Hawley indeed at *Falkirk*, and was master of the open country still. But, as in 1645, in 1689, and in 1715, the Highlanders wanted to withdraw to their glens to enjoy their plunder

after their exciting little raid. So he retired to Inverness. Cumberland came up north to take the command, restored the discipline of the English, and on April 16, 1746, destroyed the Highlanders on *Culloden Moor*. The steady fire of 10,000 disciplined men with guns swept away 5000 weary and disunited clansmen, though even then a few of them rushed right up to the bayonets. Cumberland deserves much credit for stemming the tide of panic and hesitation. His brutality in pursuit is inexcusable, yet it would have been absurd not to extinguish all embers of rebellion. In 1715 leniency was misinterpreted, and in 1745 a lesson had to be taught. Men cannot go near to throwing a world-wide empire into confusion, giving to France her best chance to win in India and Canada, and undoing the work of William and Marlborough, and yet not suffer for it. The Highlanders had to be disarmed, and taught never to rise again even in a romantic cause. Their distinctive dress was forbidden. No class profited by their suppression more than their lowland neighbours who were at last free from their raids and blackmail. Later on Pitt satisfied the instincts of the warlike clans by raising Highland regiments for the regular army. The Jacobite Frasers, for instance, fought on the Heights of Abraham in 1759.

A treaty of Restoration of Conquests. Deprived of their English allies, the Austrians and Dutch failed to hold back the French in the Netherlands. Marshal Saxe, the victor at Fontenoy, captured fortress after fortress, and seemed to have undone all Marlborough's work. But the Netherlands were not the only theatre of war. The Austrians beat the French in North Italy. At sea Anson and Hawke won small but decisive victories. In America a force of colonists captured *Louisburg* on Cape Breton Island in the mouth of the St Lawrence. In India the famous Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, conceived the idea of ruining the English settlements, and for the first time the French and English India Companies turned from

peaceful trade with the natives to fighting each other. A fleet came up from the French island of Mauritius under Admiral Labourdonnais and captured *Madras*. Thus early it was clearly seen that the mastery in India would go to that nation which had Sea Power. Yet in spite of Saxe and Dupleix the French had not been entirely successful.

In 1748 was arranged the *Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle*, by which conquests were to be restored on all sides. Frederick of Prussia, indeed, retained Silesia; but Maria recovered the Austrian Netherlands. The difficulty about the Austrian succession was settled by the election of her husband to be Emperor. As to what concerns ourselves, we gave back Louisburg to France and received back Madras from France. Therefore this is really a most interesting war, for now for the first time the rival countries were fighting upon both sides of the globe as well as at home, and all future wars would be sure to involve struggles in the colonies. War is like a game of chess; a move upon one side of the board influences the game at the other side. American historians think it foolish to have surrendered Louisburg for so paltry a place as Madras, and historians of India think that the French must have been mad to give up the all-important Madras for a worthless island in the Gulf of St Lawrence. Really there was an equal exchange.

Eight years of peace followed. Henry Pelham followed in Walpole's steps and devoted himself to the reduction of the interest on the National Debt, which stood at 78 millions. He brought it down to a uniform $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and after his death it fell to 3 per cent. Thus it was proved that the country had benefited by war, in spite of the outcry against Hanover, for only when trade is good can money be borrowed at such low rates. Also he reformed the Calendar. Our year was eleven days out, because leap year had not been properly calculated; by Act of Parliament eleven days were jumped.

Pelham's government was otherwise eventless. He was a quiet conciliatory man, just the opposite of Walpole, and he brought into the ministry every man of importance for fear of having a strong opposition. Even Pitt was a minister, much as George personally disliked him because of his fierce denunciation of Carteret and Hanover.

The Preaching of the Wesleys. Except for an occasional year of excitement, as when Prince Charles marched to Derby, life in England during this century was dull and prosperous. There was no enthusiasm for the House of Hanover. Everybody seemed to live for self and pocket. Religious feeling was not so intense as in the previous century; it seemed as if the fierce excitement of the long struggle between Puritan and Churchman had as it were burnt itself out, and since the coming of William of Orange the new generation were too weary of religious quarrels to follow the example of their fathers. But there was one period of startling religious revival. John and Charles Wesley, who were followed by Whitfield, shocked by the religious carelessness of the age, roused men's consciences by their heart-stirring sermons. The movement started at Lincoln College, Oxford. A band of earnest young men planned out their days by method, so many hours for work, for prayer, and for recreation, and thus they came to be nicknamed Methodists. They did not want to leave the Church, but to help the established clergy by their preaching, but they were rejected and forced to found a nonconformist body of their own. They made no effort to make themselves a political body, such as the Presbyterians of the 17th century had been. Their one aim was to convert souls from thoughtlessness and worldliness. They were most conspicuously successful in the south-west, especially amongst the miners. Doubtless many of their followers preached as loudly but less successfully, and they were called ranters. But enthusiasm in a slack age is decidedly good, and most people will acknowledge that the

Church ought to have found room within itself for the Wesleyan enthusiasts.

French designs in India during Peace. Dupleix had been forced to restore Madras to our East India Company in 1748. But he schemed during the years of peace. The Mohammedan Empire of the Moguls was tottering to its fall, and many native princes had made themselves independent in all but name. One prince claimed to be Viceroy of the Deccan, and another to be Nawab of the Carnatic; Dupleix schemed to support them both and with their aid to expel the English. Governor Saunders of Madras was forced in self-defence to support the rival claimants. Thus Frenchmen and Englishmen fought each other out there while the mother-countries were at peace. Dupleix had organized a small highly disciplined force of sepoys under French officers. But his schemes were too big. He was no soldier himself, and his best officer, the Marquis de Bussy, he sent up into the Deccan too far away to help him in the Carnatic. The home government of France did not support him at all; the French merchants out there did not understand him. He was allowed to spend the whole of his great private fortune in the service of his country without thanks or repayment. To thwart him there rose from a clerk's desk young Robert Clive. Whilst Chunda Sahib with French aid was besieging the ally of the English at Trichinopoly, 200 miles s.w. from Madras, Clive made a dash upon *Arcot* which was only 60 miles to the west of our capital. He seized and defended it against enormous odds in 1751; then joined his superior officer, Major Lawrence, and marched upon *Trichinopoly*. The French and Chunda Sahib were hopelessly defeated, and the dreams of Dupleix were ruined. The French Company sent out a successor to put a stop to war. Dupleix was recalled, and died literally of starvation in a garret in Paris. The truth is that neither England nor France was as yet ready or willing to conquer

in India. Dupleix paid the price for trying to force his country to found an empire against its will.

Rivalry in America leads to new War. The seeds of the next war were sown in America, not in India. More than that: war in America caused us to renew the war in India. It is not too much to say that the fight for the river Ohio was the immediate cause of our conquest of Bengal. The French possessed in the West Indies Martinique and Guadaloupe and other islands; at the mouth of the Mississippi Louisiana; and in the north Canada, which then meant only the valley of the St Lawrence. These were all most flourishing settlements. Quebec was first founded in 1608, but the colony had been re-organized and strengthened by Louis XIV. It was separated from our colonies by an almost impassable watershed of mountain and forest. The French explorers were bold and were good friends with the Redskins; the St Lawrence tempted them to the great lakes, and from the great lakes they explored the headwaters of the Ohio and the Mississippi; discovering the mouth of the great river from the north they named New Orleans after Louis XV's regent. The fur trade was very valuable, and the French tried to keep it in their own hands, building many small forts and stations to protect it, especially Fort Duquesne on the Ohio. Meanwhile our colonists for very many years made no effort to explore westwards; they had plenty of land along the coast, and the long range of the Alleghany mountains shut them in and formed a barrier to expansion. But at last some Virginian explorers, George Washington amongst them, collided with the French on the Ohio. It is said that a volley fired in a chance encounter in the backwoods of America set Europe and India in a blaze.

Henry Pelham died in 1754. His brother the Duke of Newcastle was quite unable to keep the ministry together, and there were jealousies and much trouble. But even the feeble Duke saw that something must be done to help our

colonists in the backwoods, where the French and Redskins were on the warpath. He shuddered at the thought of the war extending to Europe. At first only a couple of regiments under General Braddock were sent, and these were destroyed as they marched through the forest in close rank as if they were fighting on the battlefield of Fontenoy. Then fell upon the western parts of our colonies, especially on Virginia and New York, the horrible storm of Red Indian invasion supported by France. Even the gallant French general, Montcalm, who may well pass as a type of the best French nobility, was quite unable to control his savage allies. There was a panic, and the colonies seemed quite unable to help each other. So France and England were once more at war.

European league against Prussia. In Europe *the Seven Years' War* broke out for quite a different reason. Maria Theresa was a proud woman, and her one aim in life was to get vengeance on Frederick of Prussia, who had despoiled her of Silesia in the last war. A strange and unnatural alliance was made between Austria and France to crush the upstart Prussia, which had always been considered quite a minor power before Frederick's time; Russia and Saxony joined the allies. What were England and Hanover to do? If our old ally Austria chose to join with France and we were obliged to be opposed to France, there was nothing for it but to desert her and join Prussia. But in 1756 England seemed in a bad way. The European war opened for us by a French attack upon *Minorca*. Admiral Byng, son of the victor of Cape Passaro, sailed to relieve Minorca and retreated after a very feeble fight. The French secured the island. A tremendous outcry arose at home, and, though Pitt tried to save him, Byng was court-martialled and shot; it was a cowardly sentence which showed mere panic, and the Frenchman Voltaire sarcastically said that it was done *pour encourager les autres*.

LEWISHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES

The squabbles in the ministry were numerous and uninteresting, but at last an arrangement was made. The Duke of Newcastle was to be nominal head and to manage all the bribery and patronage. Pitt, popular, enthusiastic, eloquent, somewhat theatrical in his manner, a born leader and good judge of character, extravagant of money for the country's good and scorning to enrich himself,—whereas most Whigs starved the army and filled their own pockets,—in a word, Pitt the patriot, became Secretary to manage the war. The Duke, it was said, gave everything; Pitt did everything. Lord Anson was First Lord of the Admiralty, and no better man could possibly have been found; a very clever general who had been at Fontenoy, Lord Ligonier, controlled the army; Pitt's old enemy Carteret, now known as Lord Granville, was a valuable member of the secret committee of the Government. These men, of course the Duke being excepted, launched England upon a career of conquest at a time when everyone seemed to be quaking with fear. The ministry was formed in 1757, a certain amount of success was apparent in 1758, the great year of decisive victory was 1759, only three years after panic had led to Byng's execution.

Pitt's war policy in the Seven Years. Pitt had made himself notorious in the previous war by denouncing Carteret for fighting in Germany to help Hanover. Gradually it was brought home to his mind that it was his best policy to defend Hanover with the utmost energy against the French, to force them to put all their efforts into the land war in Germany, to raise Hanoverian and other German troops in our pay together with a small body of British, whilst he poured men into America. This was the policy of winning America upon the battlefields of Germany. He helped Frederick with large sums of money to fight the Austrians and Russians, which he did most heroically against great odds, whilst from Frederick he asked for the loan of a general. Frederick gave him Prince Ferdinand

of Brunswick. The most noticeable battle, though by no means the only one, was fought at *Minden* on the river Weser in Hanover in 1759; a line of six English and three Hanoverian regiments made an attack straight upon the French cavalry and wiped it out by their fire; but from the disobedience, or it may be cowardice, of Lord George Sackville, the English cavalry did not charge to complete the victory.

All this fighting in Germany was not so important in the eyes of Pitt as the series of attacks which he made upon the French coast year after year. An immense amount of damage was done to their shipping at St Malo, Cherbourg, and Le Havre. His object was so to cripple France that no aid could go by sea to America. He saw the value of amphibious fighting, army and navy working together; forts are half worthless when a fleet can land troops just where the admiral chooses. But his main purpose was to destroy the French fleet. The French have two large ports and arsenals, Toulon and Brest, which unluckily for them are 2000 miles apart; an English squadron at Gibraltar can cut off the Toulon ships, a squadron lying under the island of Ushant and with its home base at Plymouth can watch Brest. "Nature hates France," says a French historian; not only are Brest and Toulon thus isolated, but the ports on the Channel were then continually silted up with sand; only in the 19th century by careful dredging and great dykes of stone have Cherbourg and Boulogne been kept free. When Lord Anson and Pitt first established a blockade of the French coast they sent two fleets to throttle Toulon and Brest. Admiral Boscawen caught and beat the Toulon fleet in *Lagos Bay* near Cape St Vincent, on August 18, 1759. The same year Edward Hawke, when the Brest fleet escaped out of harbour after a gale, "came swooping from the west," and either destroyed or drove on shore every ship; strong wind, rocky coast, fast failing light on a November afternoon, such are

the features of the battle of *Quiberon Bay*, the Trafalgar of George II's reign.

This policy of blockade, of striking the enemy on his own coast and of converting the Atlantic into an English lake, had been conceived by Drake, and followed by Blake, against the Spaniards. Hawke and Boscawen under Anson's control first blockaded the French coast, and were the forerunners of the more famous trio Jervis, Nelson, and Cornwallis. None deserves praise above the others; each in his age did what the nation required of him. Quebec fell two months before Quiberon Bay, Napoleon broke up his camp at Boulogne two months before Trafalgar. Yet Boscawen and Hawke won Canada, and Cornwallis and Nelson saved England from invasion, because the great battles were fought as the triumphant conclusion to a long and successful blockade.

Meanwhile Pitt poured men and guns and stores into America; there were no half measures, no wearisome delays. Good men were chosen to command, steady and thorough Jeffrey Amherst, quick and resourceful James Wolfe. A threefold plan of campaign was formed. Our colonies were to be saved from French and Redskins by an invasion into their own ground[1]. The left attack was to strike down the Ohio to Fort Duquesne; the central column was to push from New York up the Hudson, cross the watershed at Lake Champlain, where stood Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and descend the Richelieu to the St Lawrence; the right attack by fleet and army was to capture Cape Breton Island and its strong fortress of Louisburg, and thence pierce into Canada up the St Lawrence. Step by step the programme was carried out in 1758 and 1759, in spite of a bad repulse at *Ticonderoga* in 1758. Montcalm fought like a hero. Greatly outnumbered, he yet made use of the natural defences of Canada. But a corrupt and vile government, unpatriotic nobles and

[1] For map see p. 393.

immoral king, money-grasping courtiers, swindling contractors, held power in the France and the Canada of that day; by them, as well as by England's naval superiority, Montcalm was ruined.

Louisburg having fallen in 1758, Admiral Saunders' fleet carried Wolfe and the army up the St Lawrence, and the south bank and an island opposite to Quebec were occupied. How to land on the north bank in the face of Montcalm, his 16,000 French regulars and Canadian militia, his forts and city walls, was the problem. Sea Power alone solved it. From June 26 to September 13, 1759, every device was tried, and apparently in vain. But the ships could easily take the troops up and down, to make a feint here and an attack there, while the French were wearied out by tramping parallel to them. At last the landing was effected at night from boats, and 3265 men were lined up on *the Heights of Abraham*, overlooking *Quebec*. When Montcalm hastened up to battle, the crushing fire from the British line, as at Fontenoy and Culloden and Minden, swept away the enemy in a few minutes. The importance of a battle must not be judged by numbers or by duration. To enable those few thousands to fight for a few minutes the whole strength of Great Britain had been taxed, and tens of thousands of soldiers and sailors were fighting or marching or blockading in Germany, off the coasts of Brittany and of Spain, and elsewhere in America. The deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm in battle make the Heights of Abraham known to all, and in truth they were the pick of their fatherlands' best; yet Saunders and his sailors should be remembered with them. With the fall of Quebec the fate of Canada was sealed. A last desperate attack of French troops from Montreal nearly re-captured the place in the early spring of 1760. Then British reinforcements arrived by water; and finally three armies, from Quebec, from Lake Champlain, from Lake Ontario, closed in on Montreal, and all was over.

Quebec

Pitt turned his eyes next towards the *West Indies*. Guadaloupe, St Lucia, and Martinique were occupied in turn; the colonial empire of France was practically ruined. Next, when *the Family Compact* was renewed, and Spain, frightened by the British victories, declared war, came attacks on the Spanish islands; *Havana* in Cuba, and *Manila*, the capital of the Philippines in the Pacific, were captured. But by this time Pitt, though he had designed the expeditions, was no longer minister, and George II was dead.

In India the theatre of war was at first in Bengal. A fierce young native chief, Surajah Dowlah, stirred up by France, fell upon the English settlement at Calcutta. Then was enacted the terrible tragedy of the "Black Hole," when the English prisoners were kept in a small guard-room in a horrible suffocating air, until out of 146 captives only 23 survived the slow agony of thirst. This was in 1756. Clive had been home in England and had just returned with the king's commission. He was promptly sent to Bengal, where he re-occupied Calcutta and captured the French town of Chandernagore in 1757. Then he pushed up the river Hoogly with only 900 white troops and 2100 sepoys, with which he attacked an enormous native army of about 50,000 at *Plassey*; but the odds were not so desperate as would appear at first sight, for the Hindoos were not of good fighting material, and half of them were under the orders of a traitor, Meer Jaffier, whom Clive had won over. This battle laid lower Bengal at Clive's feet. It was not annexed, but Meer Jaffier was made Nawab under English control.

One of Clive's comrades in arms, Colonel Ford, was sent into the Deccan and conquered a strip of coast midway between Calcutta and Madras, called the *Northern Circars*. Another, Colonel Coote, was sent to Madras to take the command against Count Lally. Too late the French government had seen that they had made a great mistake

in neglecting to support Dupleix, and they had now sent Lally with two of the best French regiments to win back their supremacy; he was of Irish descent and a most bitter enemy of England, but was a hot-headed man with no tact, and he offended all classes at Pondicherry, the French soldiers and officers, the merchants, the priests, and above all the natives whose caste he disregarded. He was repulsed from Madras, and finally beaten by Coote at *Wandewash* in 1760, near Arcot, where the little armies of French and English fought desperately whilst the sepoys looked on. In 1761 Pondicherry surrendered.

Thus a war, which had commenced with fear and wild anger at the loss of Minorca, had been completely successful in each quarter of the world. We always associate these victories with the name of Pitt. Meanwhile Frederick of Prussia and Ferdinand of Brunswick had been winning victories for us as well as for Prussia in the heart of Germany. The king deservedly won the name of Frederick the Great. The wonderful stand made by him against the overpowering numbers of Russia and Austria, whilst Ferdinand fought the French, made Prussia one of the greatest military nations of Europe, a nation destined, after a period of military decline, to co-operate with us in 1815 in a final triumph.

Lastly let us notice how our ancestors had to face many different kinds of enemies and to adapt themselves to various styles of warfare. The soldiers of George II were trained to meet French regulars as in Marlborough's war, but learned by experience, and often by the bitter experience of defeat, to face rushing Highlanders, lurking Red Indians, and sepoys led by Frenchmen; even as in Victoria's reign our enemies have been wild Afghans and Afridis, Arab Dervishes, Zulus, and Boers, and our men have had to adapt themselves to the tactics of each race, while there is yet a possibility of their having to encounter continental armies of conscripts. Some people can only think of and

sneer at the defeats, Preston Pans or Braddock's overthrow, Maiwand or Majuba Hill, and then talk of our "muddling through" somehow. In truth our soldiers have never muddled through, but sound and scientific leaders have learned from defeat how to organise for victory by adaptation, often in face of interfering and ignorant civilians at home. Rarely has a Pitt been at the helm.

It is not that Pitt was himself a great strategist. His merit is that he saw how to coordinate the fighting in the various areas, on the Canadian frontier, where was for us the heart of the war, at sea, and in Germany; and that he knew how to obtain for his purpose the best professional advice. He was, indeed, lavish of gold and of human lives, but he gained his end. He did not discover Anson, who had already been First Lord of the Admiralty in the peace years from 1751. Anson's merit is that he steadily built ships during peace so that the nation was ready for war, planned a new scheme of naval tactics in anticipation of Rodney and Nelson, and organised the great blockade; Byng misunderstood, and in consequence failed to save Minorca, but Anson was out of power when he was shot; Hawke understood, and added his own touch of genius, having Nelson's power of getting his captains also to understand. Lastly, Amherst was not a genius in the field like Wolfe, but as commander-in-chief in America was a most efficient organiser of victory.

GEORGE III, 1760—1820

FIRST PERIOD: TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1760—1770. SEVERAL SHORT MINISTRIES.
1763. TREATY OF PARIS.
1770—1782. MINISTRY OF LORD NORTH.
1775. AMERICAN WAR BEGINS.
1777. SARATOGA.
1781. YORKTOWN AND PORTO NOVO.
1782. RODNEY'S VICTORY.
1783. THE WHIG TREATY OF VERSAILLES, AND THE YOUNGER PITT'S MINISTRY BEGINS.

George III was grandson of George II and son of Frederick Prince of Wales. He could speak English and "gloried in the name of Briton." He had been brought up according to Bolingbroke's idea of a "Patriot King," and had been taught to believe that his first duty was to break down the supremacy of the Whigs. "George, be a king," said his mother, the Princess of Wales, who had great influence over him.

End of the Seven Years' War. The first thing was to stop the war, and for that purpose the Pitt-Newcastle combination had to be broken. Pitt had managed the war, Newcastle the bribery. So once more the old arguments were used just as against Marlborough: the Whigs had too much power, and Pitt was too prominent; the National Debt had mounted up to 139 millions; we were fighting to let all the profit go to Frederick of Prussia. An opportunity

occurred when Pitt foresaw that Spain, frightened by our successes, was going to help France according to *the Family Compact*. He was pooh-poohed, and resigned in disgust; Spain did declare war, and the expeditions planned by him against Havana and Manila were entirely successful. But no amount of popularity could restore him to power in the face of the royal obstinacy to exclude him. Newcastle was dismissed from office. A new ministry was formed under Lord Bute, an unpopular Scot, who was thought to have too much influence over the Princess of Wales, and therefore over George.

Bute brought over some of the discontented Whigs, George Grenville, who was Pitt's brother-in-law, and Henry Fox. By their help and by much bribery *the Treaty of Paris* was carried through Parliament in 1763. The question was, Could all the territory won from France be retained? If not, what should be retained and what restored? Clever minds foresaw that if we kept the West India islands we should deprive France for ever of a naval base across the Atlantic; if we gave back Canada, our own colonies would always want our help against France and would never rebel. But the opposite was done. Canada was annexed; Guadaloupe, Martinique, and St Lucia, were restored to France, also Pondicherry and Chandernagore to the French India Company, and Havana and Manila to Spain. But Minorca was restored to us; this points to a principle worth noting, namely that not every outlying position need be defended; for if the war in general is successful, positions that have been lost will be regained at the final treaty. Frederick afterwards complained that he had been deserted, but at the time he was satisfied that Great Britain should pair off with France, while he settled with Austria; he too made peace with Maria Theresa and retained Silesia for good.

Four short Ministries by Rotation. The Irish orator Edmund Burke, who was then rising in reputation,

has described for us the state of political parties[1]. Bute resigned, because, though he had carried the treaty through Parliament by bribery, he could not manage to keep in power permanently by bribery. The different sections of the Whigs were disunited and jealous of each other. So George and Bute planned to support each section in power *by Rota*, and weaken each in turn by rousing the jealousy of the others. There was a *Double Cabinet*, the ostensible Cabinet of the Prime Minister, and the secret Cabinet of the king who thwarted the Prime Minister in every way. Meanwhile all the royal power and patronage would be used *by the king for his own benefit*; he would personally appoint bishops, judges, colonels, civil servants and others, and thus build up a new party, *the King's Friends*, who would be neither Whigs nor Tories, but George's servants. Even Jacobites were now willing to serve him, as the Pretender Charles Edward had become a broken-down drunkard. As an instance of the success of this policy we may notice the case of Corsica; when the Prime Minister said that France could not be allowed to annex that island, George secretly said that she might annex it, and she did; this was just about the date of Bonaparte's birth.

Question of the Taxation of America. From 1763 to 1765 the leading ministers were George Grenville and the Duke of Bedford. Grenville was "bred to the bar," a thorough lawyer, who only cared, when considering any policy, whether it was legal, not whether it was advisable. The Duke's party was called "the Bloomsbury gang," for he lived in that district of London and had much property there. They argued that as some 50 millions had been added to our debts by the American war, the colonists should pay a trifle; accordingly *the Stamp Act* was passed, ordering them to use stamped government paper for legal documents, a stamp being a proof that a legal fee has been paid. Also they revived the old Navigation Act, by which

[1] *Thoughts on the Present Discontents.*

no trade could be carried on between two colonies except in a British ship. Next, they prosecuted John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury and a worthless fellow, for a scurrilous article in his paper *The North Briton*. Wilkes won his case in a law-court, but was expelled from the Commons and outlawed.

In 1765 Lord Rockingham, leader of the chief section of Whigs, formed a ministry. To this party belonged Burke. Pitt was asked to join and refused; he was really quite a non-party man, and his friends were mostly of the merchant and banking classes; he was popular and enthusiastic, while Rockingham was a cold and unenthusiastic aristocrat. The *Stamp Act was repealed*. Rockingham's party argued that Parliament had the legal right to tax the Americans, but that it was not wise to do so. Pitt voted for the repeal, but argued that the tax was neither constitutional nor wise; there should be, said he, no taxation without representation in the Commons.

In 1766 Pitt was persuaded by George to form a ministry on non-party lines. The Duke of Grafton joined him, and was regarded as a traitor from Rockingham's party. Pitt accepted a peerage for himself as Earl of Chatham. He was badly crippled by gout, and ill-health is an excellent reason for going up to the Lords; but he lost his popularity as the Great Commoner. Soon he was so ill that he had to retire into private life, and he even seems to have been out of his mind.

From 1767 in Chatham's absence the ministry was supposed to be led by Grafton. Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, against Chatham's known wishes, and against Grafton's wishes also, put new *taxes on tea, glass, paper*, and other articles imported into the American colonies. There is not even to-day a written law that a Cabinet should be unanimous, but it is a matter of custom and common sense that all members of a Cabinet are responsible for what one member does. In the 18th

century this was not fully recognised. Of course as soon as Chatham recovered his wits, he disowned Townshend's measures, and resigned rather than seem to sanction the taxation of the Americans; but the evil was already done. Well may the Chancellor be likened to Puck, an imp of mischief. At this date an anonymous writer, who signed himself "Junius," contributed some very bitter letters to the *Public Advertiser*. He seems to have been Sir Philip Francis, and wrote under the influence of Lord Temple, Chatham's elder brother-in-law, who hated to see Chatham allied with Grafton[1]. Burke also now wrote strongly, but he was a gentleman; Junius' attacks upon Grafton were spiteful and vulgar. It is only the mystery of the authorship that makes us care at all about him.

Wilkes had returned to England. At the end of the seven years of Parliament in 1767 he stood and was elected for Middlesex, was rejected by the Commons, and was again elected. There was much excitement and rioting, but the Commons gave the seat to his defeated opponent. However, seven years later Wilkes was once more elected and took his seat; then he lost his popularity and was no longer a martyr. He was also Alderman in the City of London, and with the help of the city stood up for the rights of the Press to print speeches made in Parliament. As regards Wilkes let us now sum up. Have the Commons the right to expel a member? Has an outlaw, or any disqualified person, the right to stand for a shire or borough; or have the Commons the right to say that this or that man may not stand? Has Parliament the right to prevent the printing of speeches? The Commons still claim to have such rights. But Public Opinion, which was strong even then, is very strong to-day; and Public Opinion usually makes its voice prevail. Wilkes gained his point at last. A similar case occurred in 1880, when Charles Bradlaugh, being elected for Northampton,

[1] Sir William Anson's Introduction to *Grafton's Letters*.

was not allowed to take his seat; in 1885 he was elected and allowed to sit.

Lord North's twelve years of Power. In 1770 George thought himself strong enough to create a ministry of the King's Friends alone under Lord North, son of the Earl of Guilford. George had successfully in the previous ten years built up by patronage and bribery this party which was no party. He had a large public and private income, yet he was already deeply in debt. He was very frugal and simple in his life—he was known as Farmer George—and this debt was incurred, not by luxury, but by the purchase of votes in the Commons against the Whigs. Thus the policy of Walpole, who used the royal patronage for the benefit of the Whigs, was at last reversed. The King's Friends were Tories under a new name.

We have seen how the Americans had been taxed by Grenville and Townshend; North abolished all the taxes but one, the ever famous tea-duty. Now notice the wonderful results of a world-empire. By his *Regulating Act* of 1773 North allowed the East India Company to import tea direct from China to America without paying the English duty; the colonists thought this to be a trick to get them to acknowledge the American duty when they got their tea cheaper. We turn as usual to Burke. It was not, he said, a question of 3*d.* more or less on a pound of tea, but of *temper and character*. The colonists' temper was up; they resented the thwarting of their inter-colonial trade by the Navigation Act, and the garrisoning of their ports by soldiers to compel the payment of the tea-duty. As for character, the men of Massachusetts and New England generally were descended from English Puritans, and had the spirit of obstinacy and resistance in their blood; the Virginians and Marylanders were Cavaliers by birth, but were slave-owners, and all who have slaves are quick to assert their own liberties. It is a pity that Burke did not carry his argument a step further. The British also had a

temper; they had fought France in 1757 when the colonists were quite unable to unite and defend themselves; they had annexed Canada and beaten down the Redskins, adding 50 millions to the National Debt; yet the colonists grudged a few thousands as a trifling contribution to the up-keep of the soldiers defending them. True, would be the reply; but you British have the monopoly of all our trade. Stiff-necked ingratitude was opposed to domineering pride. No arguments can avail when such a temper is roused.

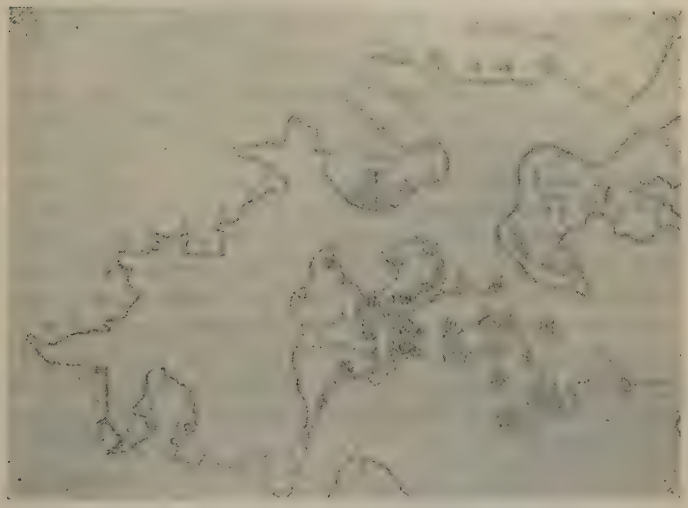
Riot and outbreak of war at Boston. The New Englanders were the leaders of discontent. In Boston they amused themselves by stoning the soldiers; on one occasion in sheer desperation some of the victims fired, and then was raised a cry of murder. The case was so bad that not even a colonial jury could convict the captain who was put on his trial. When some tea-ships entered Boston harbour, men dressed up as Indians boarded them and threw the chests into the sea. Parliament ordered the custom-house to be transferred from Boston to Salem, and this meant that no goods at all could be landed at Boston. Massachusetts was deprived of its charter and made *a Crown Colony*; it lost its assembly and self-government, and was to be governed absolutely by a Governor of the king's choosing. Quite the most important thing to be remembered is that the other colonies, especially Virginia, backed up Massachusetts. Twelve of them sent members to *a Congress at Philadelphia*, which was an act of defiance. The spark was applied to the gunpowder in 1775 when some British soldiers from Boston marched inland to seize arms and stores at Concord; on their way back they were sniped from behind cover and suffered severely.

The country was up. The colonial militiamen were hardy out-of-doors men, good shots, and enthusiastic in their cause. Would they be able to organize themselves for a long and stern struggle? When powder and victuals

ran short, when enthusiasm cooled down, and jealousy began to show itself between colony and colony, would they last out? This was the problem that faced George Washington. The jealousy he frequently soothed away; he, a Virginian, whose fame in the Seven Years' War had been high, being elected to the chief command of the united colonists in Massachusetts, was thus a conspicuous example of colonial unity. Yet the task at times seemed to be too hard even for him. Reinforcements of troops came out from England under Sir William Howe. The colonists occupied Breed's Hill on the north side of the harbour opposite to Boston; Howe's men were twice beaten back with loss, but finally carried the hill. The action—a typical action of regulars against irregulars—is generally known as the battle of *Bunker's Hill* from the name of some rising ground behind Breed's Hill.

Let us see what advantages were on the side of the British. They had full command of the sea and could land at any place on the coast. Canada was loyal, and the attacks of the Americans in that direction failed. There was discipline as against superior numbers. But the usual result of twelve years of peace was seen. The army had been cut down, and of what use was Sea Power when the home government had not enough men to send over the sea to nip the revolt in the bud, or to profit by colonial jealousies? German mercenaries were procured, and the colonists cried out against the use of hirelings to suppress them, though they had not objected to Pitt's employment of Germans on their behalf in the Seven Years' War. Both sides tried to enlist Redskins; the government officials had always been kinder than the colonists, and the savages naturally preferred to fight for the British. The idea is quite horrible to our minds, and Chatham was right in denouncing in Parliament the employment of such allies. Yet it remains that the colonists were equally guilty, though less successful in winning them over.

Scene of war shifted to New York. In 1776 Howe evacuated Boston and carried off his troops to Halifax. Thence he sailed to Long Island, beat Washington, occupied *Brooklyn* and *New York*, and threatened by the occupation of the line of the Hudson to cut Massachusetts off from the southern colonies. New York was a fine central base for such a purpose. Meanwhile Lord North tried to conciliate



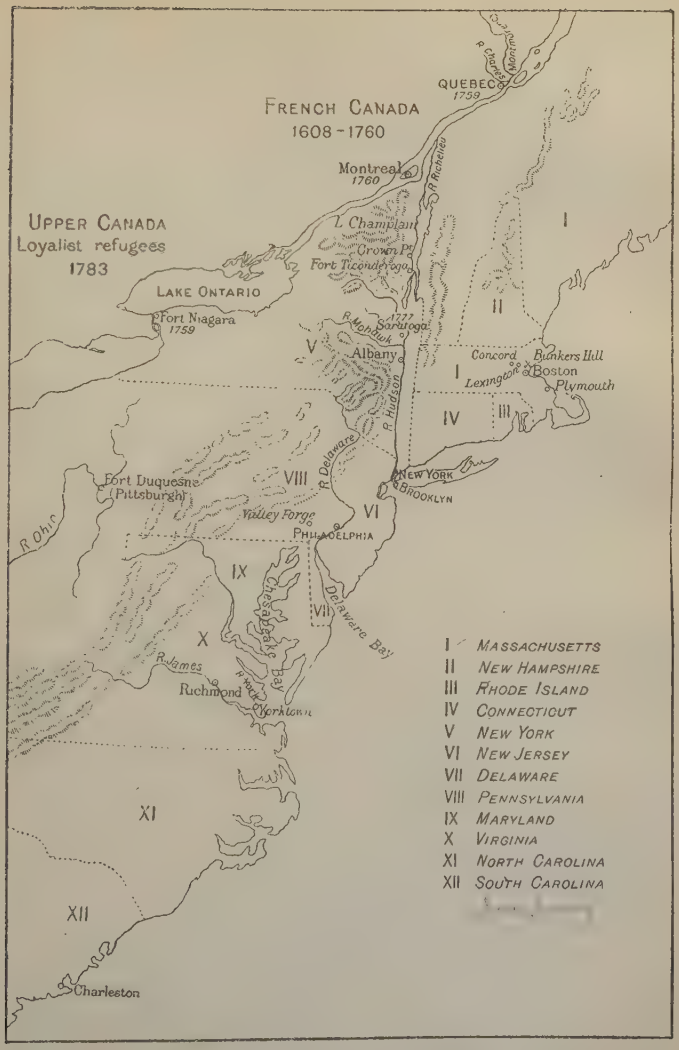
Boston Harbour with "Bunker's Hill"
Cambridge, where is Harvard University, is just to the left outside the plan

the colonists, but it was too late. The Congress at Philadelphia by the majority of one vote passed *the Declaration of Independence* on July 4, 1776. It was no longer a struggle for free trade and liberty from taxation, but for national rights. Washington, though beaten by Howe, was very active. He tried to raise a small permanent disciplined army of colonists as a nucleus round which the

masses of militiamen could rally on occasions; if the Americans were to be a nation, they must have a national force. He was not very successful so far, but in the winter he surprised Howe's outposts and inflicted considerable damage.

War on the Delaware and the Hudson. In 1777 the plans of the British were more ambitious. Unluckily they were dictated by an incompetent civilian minister, Lord George Germaine, who was the Lord George Sackville cashiered for cowardice at Minden. To dictate from home to generals 3000 miles away is obviously to court disaster. Also he failed to inform one general what he had ordered another to do. The plan of campaign was radically bad; there were to be two campaigns in different directions from two separate bases, and such a thing is only possible when the telegraph is available. Howe from New York sailed round to Chesapeake Bay, landed and beat Washington twice, and captured *Philadelphia*. In face of these defeats Washington showed his marvellous tenacity; during the winter he maintained himself with a small force of half-starved and badly equipped men in *Valley Forge*, and it was with this little standing army that he saved the middle colonies.

Meanwhile Sir John Burgoyne collected an army in loyal Canada, half British, half German, 8000 men in all. He crossed the watershed by Lake Champlain, and commenced to descend the Hudson towards New York; it was an excellent plan, being the exact reverse of the plan of the attack upon Canada in 1759, but it required the co-operation of Howe ascending the Hudson from New York. Howe in ignorance of Germaine's orders to Burgoyne was away in Philadelphia; Burgoyne under strict orders from Germaine, in place of fortifying himself on Lake Champlain, felt bound to plunge southwards with too small an army. At *Saratoga* on the Hudson he was surrounded by an overpowering force of militia under a very clever leader named Arnold, though Gates, a superior officer, arrived in time to



American Colonies and Canada

take all the glory for himself. The whole army capitulated, October 16, 1777.

Howe was forced next year to evacuate Philadelphia and fall back to New York.

France decides to help America. The surrender at Saratoga led to France joining in the war; she was only too ready to help those who could help themselves. It was a very remarkable alliance. To humiliate us and to recover Canada France now allied with the Americans and fought us. But the strange thing is that we had in the Seven Years fought France to help these very same Americans in the time of their utmost need.

France had in some degree regained her good sense and patriotism, which had been lost in the iniquitous reign of Louis XV. Louis XVI was now king, an honest if not very clever man, under whom both army and navy had been re-organized and wonderfully improved. The practical result of the French alliance was that our Sea Power was at once challenged; a drawn battle was fought to the west of Brest, and a drawn battle was as bad as a defeat. In 1779 Spain joined in, under the terms of the Family Compact; in 1780 war broke out with the Dutch, because we insisted on our right to search neutral ships for contraband of war, the guns and ammunition and supplies which their merchants poured into America. In India arose the most formidable enemy that we ever have had to face there, Hyder Ali of Mysore. This is the only modern war in which we have had no allies.

Chatham had always hated the American War; yet he wanted to conciliate the colonists, not to allow them entire independence. Now his soul was on fire at the idea of granting such independence at the dictation of his old enemy France. He felt that abject submission to both France and the rebels would have been a fatal weakness, and peace could not have been bought except by the surrender of Canada and all our West Indies. But Chatham

was fast breaking up, and after a speech in the Lords he fell down in a fit and was taken home to die. The Whigs, in particular Charles James Fox, applauded American successes. The very bitter feuds between the parties did much harm; every military or naval engagement was fiercely criticised, and Tory commanders were abused by the Whigs and vice versa. A nation should be calm and united in a period of danger.

Final French and American triumph. For five years more Great Britain held out against all the allies. Not only was the war continued in America, but both ships and soldiers had to be sent to all parts of the world; in fact a larger fleet was maintained than at any period of our history before the Napoleonic crisis. A squadron faced the Dutch in the North Sea; another held the English Channel against the combined French and Spaniards, and indeed only an outbreak of plague on the dirty Spanish ships, which spread to the French ships, saved us from actual invasion; Gibraltar and Minorca had to be defended; help had to be sent to save Madras; and the main fleet was alternately off the American coast and in the West Indies. The crisis brought to the front many great sailors, Lord Howe, the general's elder brother, Samuel Hood, and George Rodney. Our Sea Power, though challenged, finally saved us from great disaster. Also our enemies, though numerous, were not united in their aims; Spain, for instance, only cared to re-gain Gibraltar, and thus the French had to detach part of their strength to attack the rock.

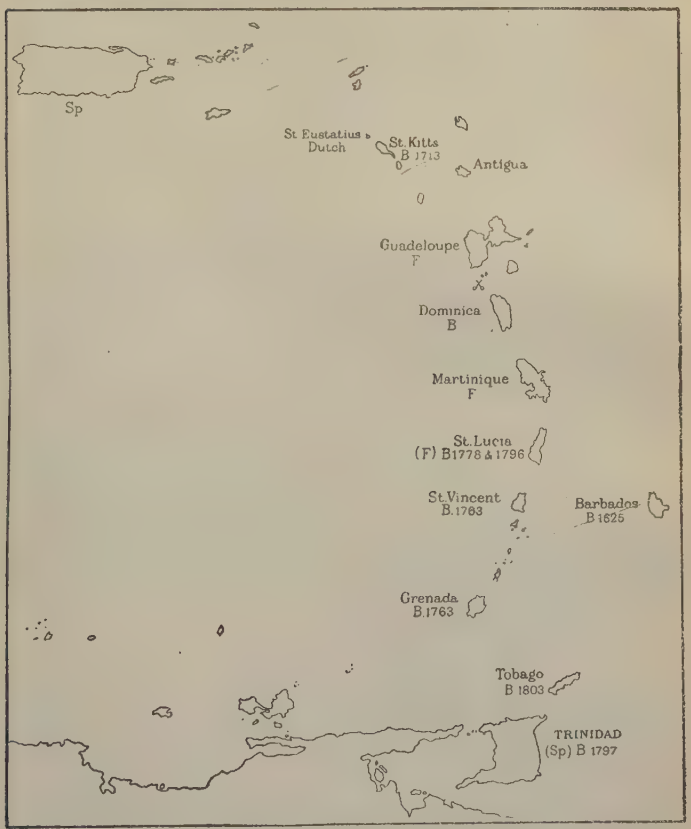
Between 1778 and 1781 our men did well. The army from New York sailed against *Charleston* in South Carolina under the command of Sir Harry Clinton, who had superseded William Howe, and took it. But only the ground within the range of the British guns was occupied; there was no complete subjugation of the Carolinas at large, where a very able general, Nathaniel Greene, who had once been a blacksmith, still held out. Very serious

however was the lasting jealousy between colony and colony, and Washington was at times in despair. Massachusetts, for instance, now that there was no war in the immediate neighbourhood, had little wish to fight for Virginia and Carolina. Relations between the French and the Americans became strained; the colonists asked why their allies had not already beaten the British and captured New York. In the West Indies a British expedition seized and cleverly defended *St Lucia*, which was henceforward the headquarters of the fleet.

So the war was not going altogether badly for us till the autumn of 1781. Then occurred a series of misunderstandings, largely due to the interference of Germaine. Lord Cornwallis marched into Virginia and took up a position on the south coast of Chesapeake Bay. The French fleet arrived upon the scene from the West Indies; our fleet was insufficient in numbers and badly handled by Admiral Graves, to the great disgust of Samuel Hood. Then Washington, making a feint as though he would attack New York, massed a great force of some 7000 French and 10,000 Americans, and brought them into Virginia. Hemmed in by French fleet, and French and American army, Cornwallis surrendered at *Yorktown*, October 19, 1781; some 4000 British and 2500 Germans laid down their arms, and 2000 more were in hospital. This second surrender, just four years after Saratoga, was decisive; French naval superiority had won the much desired revenge.

But in another part of the world this same year the exact opposite took place. Warren Hastings raised every man and every rupee that he could spare to save Madras from the terrible Hyder Ali. Sir Eyre Coote, the veteran of Wandewash, was in command. At one time he was hemmed in between a French fleet and Hyder's army; then the British fleet appeared, the French sailed away, and Coote turning upon the Mysoreans beat them in the cleverly planned battle of *Porto Novo*.

British rally by sea against France. Lord North had been in power during the whole war, but early in 1782 he resigned. A Whig ministry was forced upon the king,



West Indies

and the Whigs were the pro-American party. But peace immediately after the surrender of Yorktown would have been fatal. Even Whigs knew that the war must be

fought to the bitter end as against France and Spain. Minorca had been lost, the attacks upon Gibraltar were continued, and the French talked openly of the complete conquest of Canada and all our West Indies. Luckily George Rodney with Hood under him was in command of the navy. From his base at St Lucia he sailed out after the French fleet of the Comte de Grasse, who was steering from Martinique for an attack upon Jamaica. Off the island of *Dominica* on April 12, 1782, he won the great victory which will always be associated with his name. He had been introducing reforms into the navy, improving the gunnery and the signalling codes and the sanitation of his ships, and now he "cut the line" of the French fleet. Not only did he save Jamaica, but he so completely upset the self-confidence of the French that they never faced our ships again. It was one of the most critical of naval battles, though not a crushing victory like Trafalgar. There was no more talk of a conquest of Canada and Jamaica.

Later this same year the last and fiercest bombardment of *Gibraltar* took place. General Eliott resisted heroically, and with red-hot shot destroyed the enemies' ships and floating batteries; he well merited his peerage as Lord Heathfield. Soon the relieving fleet arrived under Lord Howe, and the rock was safe.

The Whig government finally made *the Treaty of Versailles* in 1783. The Independence of the United States was acknowledged. France re-gained St Lucia, and Spain finally kept Minorca. Otherwise Louis XVI had plenty of praise and glory, but nothing else beyond the extra load of debt which led to the French Revolution. So ended a war which created a new nation. Loyal American colonists, who wished to remain under the British flag, emigrated to Upper Canada or *Ontario*, the land between the great lakes and French Canada; others to *New Brunswick* adjoining Nova Scotia.

Events at home during the war. In 1780 occurred in London the terrible *Lord George Gordon Riot*. There

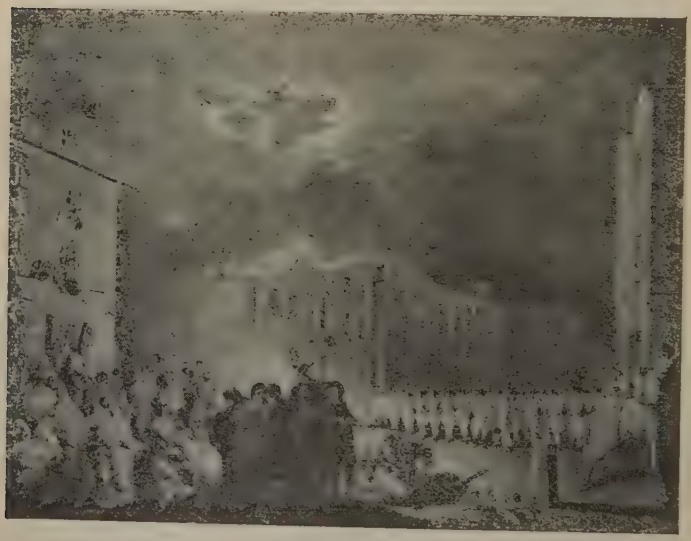
had been a proposal to grant some measure of relief to Roman Catholics. A half-witted enthusiast raised the cry of "No Popery," and stirred up the London mob. There was no proper police force in those days. Mobs had frequently assembled during the Wilkes period, and had had to be crushed by soldiers; criminals, highwaymen, poachers, smugglers, were often popular heroes, and at intervals bad riots had resulted, for instance the Porteous riot in Edinburgh in George II's reign. Now in London the scene was awful; Newgate was broken open; public houses were pillaged, so

London Bridge, 1757

that the horror of raging drunkenness was added. At last George on his own responsibility called out soldiers and saved the city. Dickens has described the scene for us in *Barnaby Rudge*.

Ireland had been drained of troops because of the American War. To prevent a Catholic rising the government armed Protestant Volunteers, and they having arms demanded independence, much as the Americans had done. In 1782 the Whigs gave to Ireland a Parliament absolutely free from English control; laws passed under Henry VII

and George I which made the Dublin Parliament subservient to that at Westminster were cancelled. From the name of a clever Irish lawyer the new body is known as *Grattan's Parliament*. But only Protestants could sit in it or vote at elections; bribery was as bad as in England. Yet some of the worst of the penal laws against Catholics were repealed by it. For the next eighteen years, 1782 to



Gordon Riots

1800, the only connecting link between England and Ireland was the Crown.

Rule of Warren Hastings in India. For many years we find in connection with India a series of swings of the pendulum; a period of peace and organization succeeds to a period of war and annexation. Clive wins at Plassey and annexes Bengal. Warren Hastings organizes the government, and sends Coote against Hyder Ali,

but makes no annexation. After him the Marquis of Wellesley crushes Hyder's son and annexes much territory; he begins to fight the Mahrattas, but the home government wish for peace and recall him. The Marquis of Hastings breaks finally the power of the Mahrattas, and more annexation follows. Once more there is a lull until we reach the Scinde and Sikh wars and the annexation of the Indus basin, 1843—9. It is difficult for an imperial race to stand still; in such a country as India generosity is regarded as weakness, and it is hardly too much to say that conquest has been forced upon the British in India in spite of the frequent swings of the pendulum towards peace.

Warren Hastings as the organizer of British rule in Bengal had no light task. Lord North's *Regulating Act* made him *Governor General* in 1773, but hampered him with a Council of four members, who could outvote him. One of the four, Philip Francis, stirred up natives against him. Suddenly a prominent Brahmin, Nuncomar, who was very bitter against Hastings, was accused of forgery, tried before Elijah Impey and three other judges, and hanged. There was a cry that Impey really murdered Nuncomar to save Hastings and to spite Francis; no serious historian believes this now, but those who only read the story in Macaulay's essay consider that Hastings' conduct was bad. In reality the charge brought against Nuncomar was true, he had a fair trial, and was hanged under the English law which Lord North's act transferred to India, and which Impey could not disregard.

Later Hastings had much trouble in raising money for his defensive wars against the Mahrattas and Mysoreans. He also had to send home much money to satisfy the shareholders of the Company. He was accused of persecuting native tributary chiefs in order to find the means. There was an opinion that all Englishmen in India cared for nothing but to enrich themselves; that many did make money none too honestly in those days is true; and so,

though Hastings' own hands were clean, he had to bear the burden of others' misdeeds.

North and Fox opposed by the King. The Whigs who made the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 were not a united party, and there were quarrels and jealousies. In that year the ex-"King's Friend," Lord North, and the pro-American Fox, formed *a coalition ministry*. George always hated Fox, and considered that North was a traitor in joining him. They brought in an *India Bill*. Their design was to give complete control over India to the Commons, breaking down the power of the Company and disregarding the king. George was indignant, and used all his royal influence to get the Lords to reject the bill. It was a strange thing for any king to do; he would have been within his rights if he had vetoed the bill after it had passed both the Commons and the Lords. Then he dismissed both Fox and North. Having no one else to whom to apply, he called upon William Pitt, Lord Chatham's second son, then aged twenty-four, to form a ministry. Pitt accepted, and his father's old friends and the king's party rallied round him. People expected him to fail. He appealed to the country, and at a General Election secured a good majority; Fox and many of his supporters lost their seats, and were nicknamed "Fox's Martyrs" from the title of a celebrated book. Pitt remained in power for seventeen years, from December 1783 to January 1801. George supported him, and the nation both remembered his father and admired his own courage.

Young Pitt's ministry during peace. For nine years there was peace, followed by eight of storm and war, while Pitt was premier; the French Revolution divides the two periods. We may say that the nine years of peace were invaluable to England; they marked a wonderful recovery after the loss of the American colonies, and gave us resources to face the French Republic. It was a period when men were beginning to see that the conditions of life were changing. *Machines* were invented which superseded

the old hand-loom; this meant that weavers would be unable to work in their own cottages, but have to settle in towns round the big factories where the machines were housed. James Watt perfected his *steam-engine* in 1785; the result was that the factories had to be near to the coal-fields. Canals were being constructed all over England for the easier conveyance of heavy goods and of coal, which now took the place of charcoal in the smelting of iron. The *agricultural reforms* which began in East Anglia in Lord Townshend's days were being generally accepted; scientific farming received a great impetus from the work of the Earl of Leicester, known as Coke of Norfolk. Of course these were but beginnings: reforms in farming are always introduced slowly. But, as the population was growing towards nine millions, a day was coming when the country would be unable to feed its mass of workers unless the reforms were widely spread. For these reasons the closing years of the 18th and the early years of the 19th century would have been full of excitement and change in any case, had there been no French Revolution.

The National Debt stood at about 230 millions. Pitt made arrangements to reduce it by one million every year. Unluckily at the same time the need for economy led to the usual result: the army was reduced to a dangerously low figure.

Most people used to think that gold alone made a man or nation rich. Adam Smith in his book *The Wealth of Nations* taught that anything which can be exchanged is wealth, and that gold is only a medium of exchange; therefore nations should trade with each other in their natural products. Pitt under his influence made a *commercial treaty* with France, by which French wines and brandy and silk could enter England freely, and English coal and cloth and ironware similarly enter France. If our gold went to pay for their wine, their gold would return to us to pay for our coal. This is *Free Trade.* Smuggling would of course

decrease when the duties were reduced. The treaty was popular in South France where grow the grapes and mulberries, very unpopular in the North where miners and mechanics were thrown out of work because our minerals and manufactures were better and cheaper than theirs.

Another man who influenced Pitt was William Wilberforce, the hero of the *anti-Slavery* crusade. In a conversation under a tree near Pitt's home in Hayes Park, still called Wilberforce's tree, he first persuaded the young Premier to look into the iniquities of the slave-trade, and the result was the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the question, Whitbread being chairman.

Various other movements, such as that for the Reform of Parliament by the abolition of the rotten boroughs, would have had Pitt's support. But George objected to some of his plans, and others had to be postponed because of the French Revolution.

A new *India Bill* was passed. The East India Company was to govern the annexed districts, and to manage the civil service and the trade; but the Commons were to choose a *Board of Control* to superintend the general policy; the king was to appoint the Governor General, whom his Council were no longer to have the right to overrule by their votes. Shortly afterwards Warren Hastings came home. There was such a strong feeling against all English officials employed in the government of India that he was at once attacked in the Commons. Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the famous play-writer, were his chief enemies; Burke's strong imagination carried him away, and picturing a beautiful and romantic India ground down by greedy Englishmen he jumped to the conclusion that Hastings was the worst offender. As a Governor General could not be attacked in any other way, they proposed an impeachment. Pitt, to everybody's surprise, consented. He was jealous, so it was

insinuated, lest Hastings should become as famous at home as in India; but the probable explanation is that he thought an impeachment the best method of calling public attention to India. Thus began the celebrated trial before the Lords, which lasted down to 1795. Hastings was finally acquitted, but he was ruined in fortune, nor did he ever enter into English political life: a sad end to a great career.

Note to Third Edition

I have been asked to give definite answers to Macaulay's charges and insinuations, and in a short history this is difficult to do. Most people know best the Nuncomar case. Sir James Stephen, in his *Impey and Nuncomar*, gives the results of his investigation of the recorded evidence and summing up; the charge of forgery would have come up in any case, and was not prompted by spite against Hastings' bitterest enemy; there were three other judges on the bench besides Impey, who summed up in Nuncomar's favour more strongly than Sir James says he would have done on the evidence; he had no choice but to pass sentence, and reprieve would have brought British law into contempt. The conquest of the Rohillas, and the withdrawal of two provinces from the Mogul Emperor, were due to the power of the Mahrattas, who were allied or ready to be allied to both; the Rohillas themselves were warrior Afghans who had only the right of recent conquest. The demands on Cheyte Singh and the Begums of Oude were just, and accusations of cruelty rest on rumour. Hastings did not show regal splendour; all contemporaries say that his dress and habits were quite simple. See Sir Alfred Lyell's *Hastings* in the "Men of Action" series, and an article in *History*, new series, vol. III. no. 9.

SECOND PERIOD

1789. French Revolution. 1804. Napoleon Emperor.

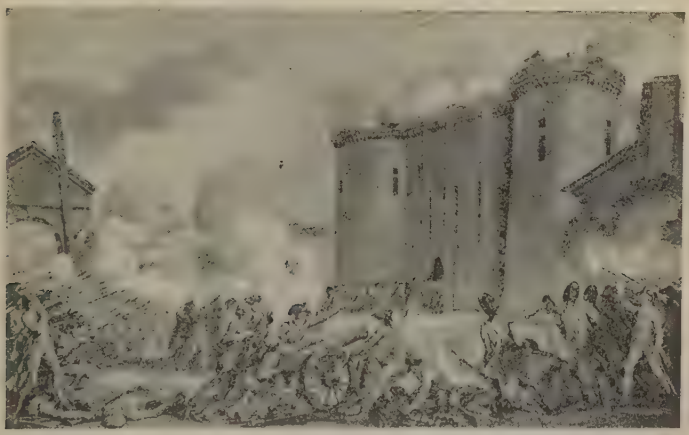
1793. The Republic declares War on Great Britain
1798. The Egyptian Expedition.
1802. Peace of Amiens.
1803. The Second War begins.
1805. Trafalgar.
1808. The Peninsular War begins.
1813. The Uprising of Europe.
1815. Waterloo.

We now approach the tremendous outbreak known as the French Revolution, after which raged a series of terrible wars terminated at last by Waterloo. This period cuts off the nineteenth century from preceding ages just like some deep chasm.

The causes need not delay us. The chief cause, indeed, was the great difference between the untaxed privileged French nobles and the tax-paying unprivileged people. But England had some share in bringing it about. Firstly, by joining the Americans against us Louis XVI piled up the extra load of debt which made him bankrupt, and it was because of his bankruptcy that he was forced to call the States General. Secondly, there had been much talk during our civil war amongst Cromwell's soldiers about "natural rights of men," and their ideas had been commonly held by the revolted Americans; the French soldiers who had helped the Americans spread the talk throughout France. The writings of Voltaire and Rousseau stirred up the minds of Frenchmen to regard liberty as a natural right.

"Rights of Man," "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality," became catch-words. Now the American war had been a victorious war for the French; Louis XVI had greatly improved both army and navy. Yet he gained from it nothing but empty glory and debt and his death by the guillotine.

The Revolution began by the meeting at Versailles of the *States General*, May, 1789. It was a meeting of three Chambers: Nobles, Clergy, and Tiers Etat or Commons. The British nation applauded. How sensible of the French



Fall of the Bastille, 14 July 1789

to have a Parliament like ours! But ours is the slow growth of many centuries; theirs had been last summoned in 1614, and France had had in the interval no experience of self-government. In June the three Chambers were joined into one, called *the National Assembly*. In July there was a scare that Louis was going to use his soldiers to expel its members; an angry mob in Paris, searching for arms, attacked the great fortress, *the Bastille*, which corresponded to our Tower; it was surrendered July 14 by its garrison.

Peasants then rose and sacked castles all over France. The Assembly, partly through fright, partly in generous earnestness, abolished all the privileges of the nobles. The mob grew stronger, and on October 5 marched to *Versailles*, swarmed next day into the palace, and carried off the king and queen in triumph to Paris. The nobles fled; the Church was disestablished and its lands confiscated. Next year there was a bad season, and the people were too excited to farm properly.

British opinion on the Revolution. People here began to be frightened, and Burke wrote his famous *Reflections on the French Revolution*. He had stood up in past years for the Irish, for the Americans, and for the natives of India, against oppression; always for the weaker against the stronger. Now he denounced the Revolutionists, and championed the captive Louis and Marie Antoinette, the overthrown nobility and church; his love of the picturesque and the romantic sharpened his attack upon the howling mob of Paris. He foresaw utter lawlessness and bankruptcy in France, leading to such confusion that only a strong soldier could restore law and peace. Thus while knowing nothing of Napoleon he prophesied his rise. To the many republicans in Britain he argued: "Do not be misled by what is happening in France, do not throw away the experience of centuries, do not talk of confiscation and revolution here, but let us maintain our monarchy and church, our aristocracy and democracy, as they exist." Fox applauded the Revolution, and saw that the overthrow of old injustice and bad customs in France was a real gain. But most thinking Englishmen, fearing a similar outbreak of confiscation here, felt the influence of Burke's words. The French were, indeed, no longer copying us; when a clever long-headed Revolutionist, Mirabeau, presented to the National Assembly a book which explained the nature of our Parliament, the others mocked at it. "We are not Englishmen, and we want nothing English."

How the Revolution affected Pitt. Our Prime Minister was not a bitter anti-Revolutionist like Burke, nor a pro-Revolutionist like Fox. But he saw how the excitement was growing in France, and that there were many British republicans who sympathised. So he postponed reform till quieter days should come; Relief of Catholics, Reform of Parliament, Abolition of the Slave-Trade, had better not be brought forward just yet. The French in their keenness for the rights of man had abolished slavery in their colonies, and a fierce war had broken out between blacks and whites; therefore Pitt feared to touch our slave-trade in spite of Wilberforce's influence over him. Next he passed through Parliament strong laws against sedition and libel, lest wild talk might lead to revolution.

At this date occurred the affair of Nootka Sound. The Spaniards claimed all the Pacific coast of America by right of discovery; we claimed our right to settle in places which they had only discovered, but had never colonised. The dispute seems to be petty; yet in it was involved the question whether Canada should spread westwards to the Pacific, for Nootka Sound lies between Vancouver and the mainland of what we now know as British Columbia. It was settled in our favour.

Beginning of the Revolutionary wars. The Emperor was the first to fight Republican France for the sake of his imprisoned aunt Marie Antoinette. Prussia joined with him, but Prussia and Austria were very jealous of each other. In 1792 France went mad with the excitement of war. A new assembly met and was called *the National Convention*; it not only dethroned, but in January 1793 guillotined Louis XVI. A sort of crusade was preached in France against all crowned heads. The French armies invaded the Austrian Netherlands, Rhineland, Savoy, and Avignon: the career of conquest had begun. In Paris the Royalists, or those accused of being such, were guillotined under *the Reign of Terror*. Fierce civil war broke out in

Brittany and La Vendée, and also along the Rhone; the Royalists were the "whites" and the Republicans the "blues," and it was a war to the death. Would Pitt throw Great Britain into the war to help the allies? He wished to keep out of it, in spite of Burke's insistence. Indeed, he had no *casus belli*. He could not declare war because France had executed her king, confiscated the lands of her nobles and churchmen, and declared a Republic. The seizure of the Netherlands concerned us, but the Rhine and Savoy did not. Yet the Republic as a crusading force, calling upon all nations to throw over their kings with French help, preaching republicanism at the bayonet's point, offering to land "50,000 caps of liberty" to aid their brethren the republicans of England, was too dangerous to be disregarded[1]. Finally they, and not Pitt, settled the question by declaring war on us.

At first it appeared that the allies would win easily. The enthusiastic Republicans refused to submit to discipline, and their armies were rabbles. But, very soon the old trained soldiers of Louis XVI made their influence felt; discipline was re-learnt, and when added to republican enthusiasm was irresistible. Young and energetic generals came to the front. Danton at Paris urged "no surrender," even though hundreds had to be sent to the guillotine. Carnot,—whose grandson M. Sadi Carnot was murdered while President of the Third Republic in 1894,—organized the French armies for victory. Not only Belgium, but Holland also and North Italy, were invaded.

Pitt fights France unsuccessfully. The British arms did very little to help the allies. Statesmen blamed generals, and generals blamed statesmen. The truth is that our army had been so cut down since the American war that we had no good troops available; such troops as there were Pitt, unable to understand the need of concentration as his father did, scattered in four directions, to the Nether-

[1] Bright's *History*, vol. III. pp. 1166, 1167.

lands, to the West Indies, to Brittany, and to Toulon. The Duke of York in the Netherlands was not a good general, but he had no chance. Yellow fever destroyed in the West Indies thousands who were badly wanted in Europe. The "whites" in Brittany received aid too late, were overpowered and cruelly massacred. *Toulon*, the great fortress and arsenal of the Mediterranean, was recaptured by the clever Corsican lieutenant of artillery "Napoleone Buonaparte." On the glorious *First of June*, 1794, Lord Howe beat the French fleet in the Atlantic; this was the one gleam of light. Republican equality had ruined naval discipline, which, once lost, cannot be restored in a moment, and had exiled or killed all the best French naval officers.

Holland and Spain against us. The worst years for Great Britain were 1796 and 1797. Prussia deserted the allies, Russia had never joined them, and both were intent upon seizing Poland. The Austrians were badly beaten by Bonaparte along the Po; his crowning victory at *Rivoli* is commemorated by a well-known street in Paris. Holland welcomed the French and gave them her fleet. Spain, whose king was cousin to the recently executed Louis, actually made alliance with the Republic that had executed him, so great still was Spanish hatred of England; the result was that our fleet had to evacuate the Mediterranean. Ireland was in a dangerous state, and might revolt at any moment if the Dutch and French fleets could unite and carry an army across the sea. There was no British army, for it had been frittered away in the West Indies. Our fleets were becoming mutinous; bad food, low pay, fiendishly severe discipline, were the lot of the men who defended our shores. Yet our fleets saved the country.

Let us take each in turn. In the south John Jervis was sent to command. His iron discipline prevented mutiny, and he certainly brought his fleet to a high pitch of excellence. Sailing from Lisbon he fell on the Spaniards off *Cape St Vincent*, on February 14, 1797; Nelson was

second in command and by a quick movement in the heat of battle won the victory. The enemy retreated into Cadiz and never again showed a bowsprit outside; Jervis sailed into the Mediterranean.

The Channel fleet ought to have been blockading Brest; slack and verging on mutiny, it lay off Portsmouth. The French sailed out and reached Bantry Bay on the s.w. Irish coast in 1796; only rough weather and lack of seamanship prevented the landing of a veteran army under an able general, Lazare Hoche, and the mere thought of such a danger is terrifying. In 1797 occurred the *Mutiny at Spithead*. Old Lord Howe came down and promised redress, and the men returned to duty. But it was not till Jervis came home that the Channel fleet was made as good as the Mediterranean.

Lastly, there was the North Sea fleet whose duty was to blockade the Dutch ports. Mutiny broke out at *the Nore*, a far more dangerous mutiny, because the ringleaders were republican agitators who wanted to take the ships over to the enemy. Luckily the genuine sailors refused, and when their water and food ran short they gave in. Meanwhile Admiral Duncan had bluffed the Dutch by maintaining the blockade with only two ships, from which he made signals to an imaginary fleet out of sight of the land. When the men returned to duty he caught and beat the Dutch off *Camperdown* in October 1797.

Never has our country been in greater danger. The taxation was very heavy, for Pitt gave great sums to our Austrian allies.

"Who fears to talk of ninety-eight?" Ireland was in a dreadful state. French aid was expected; yet France had overthrown Catholicism, and most Irishmen were enthusiastic Catholics. The Protestants of Ulster were also ready for revolt. There was an independent Parliament still sitting in Dublin; it was thought that Pitt had promised complete Catholic emancipation, but he denied it. Without

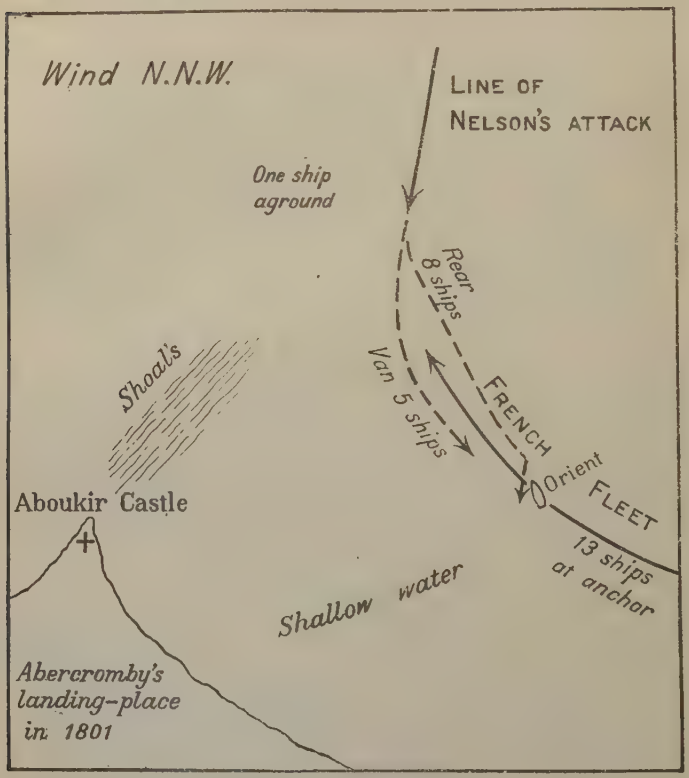
French help after the fiasco of Bantry Bay the Catholics and Republican Irish rose in 1798, but Ulster stood aloof. General Lake stormed the rebels' camp on *Vinegar Hill*, near Wexford, and the rising was crushed amidst great atrocities on both sides.

Then Pitt decided that the Catholics must be satisfied, but that first the Parliaments must be united. By much bribery Lord Castlereagh, who was Secretary of State, carried the *Act of Union* in 1800, and after eighteen years of existence Grattan's Parliament came to an end. Ireland was allotted 100 seats in the Commons at Westminster and 32 in the Lords. But when Pitt wanted to bring in Catholic relief George opposed him. The House of Hanover, he said, had been brought in as a Protestant dynasty to defend the faith. Therefore, as George was firm, Pitt had to give way. He considered that his honour was at stake, and so he resigned in 1801. This was the first serious disagreement between King and Prime Minister since 1783.

Bonaparte followed by Nelson to Egypt. The Austrians had made peace in 1797: only Britain and France remained in arms. In 1798 Bonaparte eluded Nelson and sailed to Egypt. What was his object? Certainly to make Egypt the French India. But what next? To proceed against India itself, or against Turkey? No one can say; he always had two strings to his bow, if not three. At any rate he sailed, seized en route Malta from the knights of St John, landed, and won the Battle of the Pyramids. Then Nelson followed on his track and sailed in on the French fleet as it lay in Aboukir Bay; he won his first crushing victory, which we call *the Battle of the Nile*, on August 1: he accounted for all the French ships but two, and these he caught afterwards.

If Bonaparte had really wanted to reach India, how could he have got there, even had there been no battle of the Nile, unless he had ships in the Red Sea? Yet his presence

in Egypt threw Bombay into a flutter and encouraged Tippoo Sahib to defy us. But he could not march to India. So he turned in 1799 to Palestine and tried to take *Acre*.



Aboukir Bay: 1798 and 1801

The Turks, helped by Sydney Smith and the crews of two ships, resisted desperately, and plague broke out. He thus "missed his destiny," and retired to Egypt. Meanwhile Nelson blockaded Malta, which at last fell in 1800.

Europe in Bonaparte's absence: his return. When the French general and army were locked up in Egypt, Austria for the second time and Russia for the first time made war on France, backed up by Pitt's money. This was *the Second Coalition.* There was once more a British army, created out of the militia for the Irish war of 1798; Pitt sent it to Holland, where it captured the remains of the Dutch fleet, but then it returned. It ought to have been sent to the Mediterranean, where we had occupied Minorca, so as to support the Austrians and Russians who were re-conquering North Italy; in Bonaparte's absence it seemed as if the allies were going to turn the tables on France, but they quarrelled. Suddenly he slipped through the blockading ships from Alexandria, though he had to leave his army behind. He overthrew the French government, and made himself the military master of France under the title of First Consul.

Then he dashed across the Alps and in June 1800 won *the Battle of Marengo*, by which North Italy was conquered for France; in the following December Moreau, a republican general, won *the Battle of Hohenlinden* in Bavaria. Austria was thus once more humbled and made a treaty. The French power was firmly established over Belgium and Holland, Germany up to the Rhine, Switzerland, Savoy, North Italy. The Russians had withdrawn, and the Prussians had never joined the Second Coalition. Britain and France once more were face to face. In 1801 Pitt resigned, as we saw, on the Catholic question, and Addington became Prime Minister.

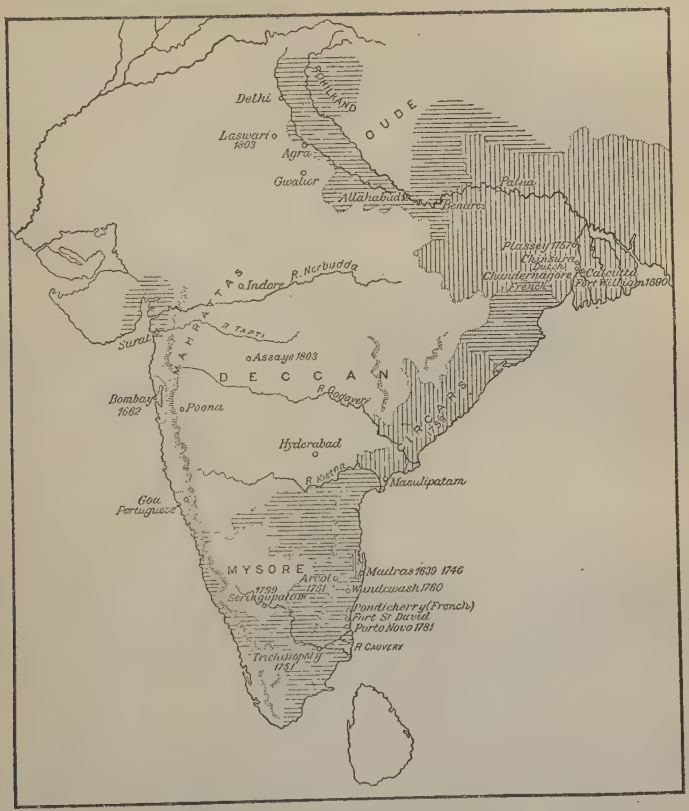
Wellesley in India: Mysore and Mahrattas. The mere presence of Bonaparte in Egypt caused troubles in India. Tippoo Sahib was in arms against us and had to be crushed; he was a cruel tyrant and lacked the genius of his father Hyder Ali. The Governor General was Richard Wellesley, Lord Mornington, who started with a strong policy of making British influence supreme at the courts of

native princes. A well planned expedition penetrated into the mountains of Mysore under General Harris; *Seringapatam* was stormed and Tippoo slain, 1799, Colonel Arthur Wellesley learning here many valuable lessons which afterwards helped him in the Peninsular War. Mysore was restored to the Hindoo dynasty that Hyder had displaced; it has since been the best governed of native states, and is the sanatorium of south India. A ring of land all *round Mysore* was annexed, as well as most of *the Carnatic* inland from Madras.

Mornington was now created Marquis Wellesley. He proceeded to make a "subsidiary" treaty with the chief of the Mahrattas, the Peshwa, whose capital was Poona; a subsidiary treaty is one by which a native prince puts himself into semi-dependence. This offended another strong Mahratta, Maharajah Sindia. War resulted, and Wellesley gave the command to his brother Arthur—undoubtedly a piece of favouritism, but one which gave to a good man a chance to show his worth while yet young. Arthur won a hard bought victory against the powerful Mahratta horse in the north-west corner of the Deccan at *Assaye* in 1803. Lord Lake, the conqueror in Ireland, beat Sindia's other army at *Laswaree*, not far from Delhi.

But there was yet a third Mahratta chief, Maharajah Holkar, who would not combine with Sindia, but fought us after his defeat. He held his own against Lake's officers by refusing a pitched battle. Still the British were gaining ground, conquered Delhi, and annexed *the Dooab* between the Ganges and Jumna. But then came the swing of the pendulum. The East India Company and the Cabinet were frightened at the thought of so much annexation. Wellesley was recalled. Holkar was left half conquered, Sindia was restored. This is bad policy, for warlike princes must either be crushed or left alone; natives, especially the proud Mahrattas, consider such conduct to be weakness. So the "Great Pro-consul" returned home a disappointed man.

Gains at sea: Egypt and Copenhagen. Had we really gained anything by these years of war? Our Sea



India of Clive and Hastings

Annexations by Wellesley

Power had been restored to the standard of 1759. It had been utilised to effect some slight gains in the West Indies,

not great enough to counterbalance the tremendous loss of life by yellow fever among the soldiers; it had won Trinidad from Spain, Guiana and the Cape and Ceylon from the Dutch, and Minorca once more and Malta. But our armies, frittered away by Pitt's inability to understand the need of concentration, had done nothing to help the main cause of the allies, namely, to curb the aggressive spirit of the Republic. It seemed as if we cared only to snap up outlying colonies and to let the burden of European war fall on Austria, helping her with money but not with men. Meanwhile it is clear what the Republic had gained; no longer fighting to spread republicanism in Europe, it aimed at conquest abroad, and after years of confusion and terror, anarchy and civil war, it had received the Corsican general as its master at home. We must not blind our eyes to what the Republic did; the conquered countries gained very much by the abolition of old evils and inequalities. But the French now looked upon themselves as conquerors, no longer as liberators. They plundered, and carried off to Paris treasures and works of art to fill the museum of the Louvre.

Peace was possible, and to secure peace on good terms Addington sent Ralph Abercromby to Egypt. We ought to put this general on a high pedestal. He had served continually since 1793 during the days when Pitt considered British soldiers to be worthless; he and John Moore were creating a new military spirit, while Arthur Wellesley was yet only a colonel in India. Now he got his chance. Combining admirably with the naval officers he landed 15,000 men in 1801 at *Aboukir Bay*, the scene of Nelson's triumph. The French, veterans of Rivoli, but home-sick and scattered between Alexandria and Cairo, were between 25,000 and 30,000; they were beaten piecemeal. Abercromby met the death and should receive the glory of Wolfe, a general cut down in the moment of victory. The French surrendered on condition of being shipped home to France.

Our Sea Power was so great that neutral states were offended, as in the American war. Britain always claimed the right to search neutral ships for contraband of war, and since the naval victories of 1797 had closely blockaded French ports to the destruction of neutral trade. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark formed a league known as the *Armed Neutrality*. A fleet was at once sent in 1801 under Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second, against *Copenhagen*; Parker stood off, while Nelson took in the inshore squadron to bombard the Danish forts and ships. Then occurred the "blind eye" episode. Parker ran up a signal for retreat that Nelson might obey or not as he chose, being free to act on his own judgment; he made a jest of not seeing it by putting his telescope to his blind eye. The Danes gave in, and soon a new Tsar withdrew Russia from the confederacy against us.

Treaty of Amiens made and broken. Both countries were ready for peace, and *the Treaty of Amiens* was signed in March 1802. The British honourably restored all conquests in the East and West Indies to France. The First Consul did not object to our retaining *Trinidad* at the expense of his ally Spain, and *Ceylon* at the expense of the Dutch; but we restored the Cape. Bonaparte kept out of the treaty any words which would definitely bind him to abstain from further aggressions in Europe; he annexed more land in Italy, and had designs on the Adriatic and once more on Egypt. Addington had promised to surrender Malta and did surrender Minorca. But as Bonaparte's idea was only too clear,—just to get a breathing-space and to build up a new fleet so as to attack us again a few years' later,—Addington held on to *Malta* as a guarantee. Bonaparte denounced us, and the war was renewed in May 1803.

The years of the great blockade. Once more began grim and terrible war, which nothing but the complete exhaustion of one combatant or the other could terminate. Bonaparte wanted to finish it at once by an invasion of

England. He created a vast camp of which the centre was at *Boulogne*, and the wings spread eastwards to Antwerp and westwards into Normandy. The preparations were so vast that much time was required; war material had to be brought up, transports and flat-bottomed boats to be built. Meanwhile he took the title of the *Emperor Napoleon*; he created a gay and glittering court, attracted many royalist exiles back to France, converted his generals into marshals and made them dukes and counts But the preparations for

A Martello Tower. Many of these were built on the south coast 1803—1804; the name is taken from a tower in Corsica, captured in 1794

invasion never ceased. On our side a camp was formed at Hythe; the militia were trained with the regulars, and thousands of volunteers were raised. Plans for the defence of England in case Napoleon landed were suggested by General Dumouriez, a French exile.

John Jervis, Lord St Vincent, was at the head of the Admiralty under Addington. He posted a squadron in the Downs to watch Boulogne, while scores of frigates patrolled the Channel and protected trade. Admiral Cornwallis, brother of Lord Cornwallis, blockaded *Brest* with his base

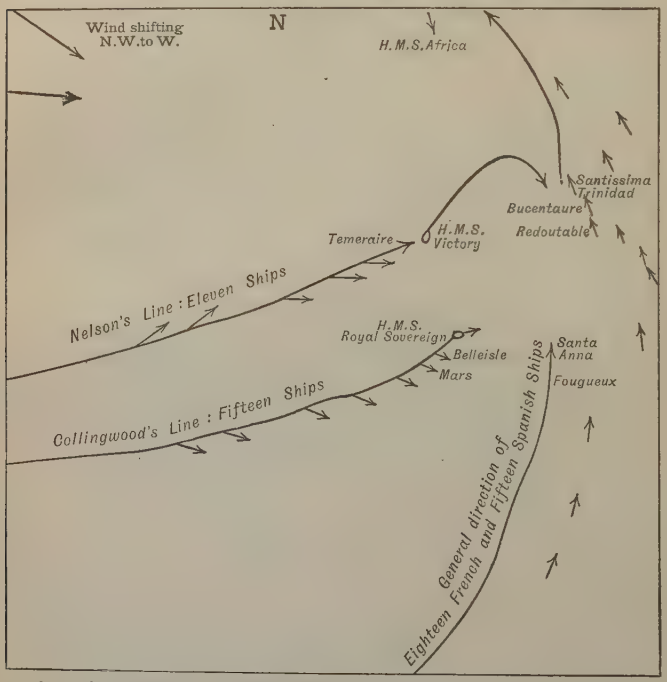
at Plymouth, and never once did he relax his grip from May 1803 onwards. Smaller squadrons watched Rochefort, and the Spanish ports of Ferrol and Cadiz. Nelson had the Mediterranean fleet and blockaded *Toulon*. Unless Napoleon's ships could break out, unite, and sweep the Channel, the Grande Armée could not cross the score of miles between Boulogne and Kent. We know from the experience of our swimmers how strong are the currents in the straits; therefore a surprise attack in row-boats was out of the question. Napoleon required absolute mastery of the Channel, and therefore the ships of Cornwallis and Nelson, though hundreds of miles away off Brest and Toulon, were the real defence of England.

Pitt was recalled to power in 1804. Austria and Russia were ready to take up arms in 1805, and *the Third Coalition* was formed. Would Napoleon dare to land in England, even if he could, and leave France open to the Austrians and Russians? In 1804 he would have dared, but the great blockade foiled him; in 1805, perhaps in the spring, he decided to make a feint of invasion of England and prepared to pounce on Austria.

But it was in 1805 that Admiral Villeneuve from Toulon at last broke the blockade. In April he got out and passed Gibraltar; the wind shifted and was dead against Nelson. Thus he crossed the Atlantic with a clear month's start. Nelson was not tricked, but pursued straight to the West Indies, thereby hustling him and gaining on him every day. The French sailed badly after being cooped up so long. Back came Villeneuve from the West Indies, back followed Nelson. Would Villeneuve attack Cornwallis and give the Brest fleet a chance to come out? His nerve failed him, and he turned to Spain. He met a third British fleet under Calder in July, fought a battle, and was headed into Vigo Bay, thence into Cadiz. Nelson, largely reinforced by Collingwood, followed and held him safe. Meanwhile Cornwallis hung on to Brest. Two things should be

remembered in particular, Nelson's chase and Cornwallis' tenacity; between them they upset Villeneuve's plans.

What Napoleon would have done if Villeneuve had attacked Cornwallis and entered the Channel who can say? In August he considered that he had feinted long enough,



Plan of the Battle of Trafalgar: general line of attack based on the report presented to Parliament in 1913.

broke up his Boulogne camp, marched his Grande Armée into Bavaria, caught the Austrians on the Danube before their Russian allies arrived, encircled them and made them capitulate at *Ulm* on October 20[1]. There was no Eugene to lead the Austrians, no Marlborough to bring up the

[1] See p. 344.

British and other allies. So Napoleon crushed his enemy close to where Eugene and Marlborough had won their dazzling triumph in 1704.

All fear of invasion being over, Nelson and Collingwood watched Cadiz, and finally caught Villeneuve some miles west of *Cape Trafalgar* between Cadiz and Gibraltar on October 21. Sailing with the wind behind Collingwood threw his division upon the French and Spanish rear, and Nelson pierced their centre, while their van with the wind against them were for the time out of action. Of 33 ships no less than 22 were sunk or captured. It was the last battle fought on the waters which had seen the victories of Drake and Blake, of Boscawen and Rodney, and of Jervis; and it was the greatest. It cost Nelson his life, but he had done his work. Trafalgar did not save England from invasion, but coming at the end of the arduous and successful blockade was the final crushing blow two months after the invasion had been abandoned. Even so Quiberon Bay may be said to have caused the fall of Quebec, though fought two months after Quebec had fallen.

Napoleon pushed on after the victory of Ulm, entered Vienna, caught the Russians and the remnants of the Austrians at *Austerlitz* in Moravia, and annihilated them on December 2. So closed the wonderful year 1805. Next January Pitt died. Austerlitz killed Pitt, in the sense that he was unable to give himself time for rest amidst the strain of the war, and he died a victim to neglected gout.

The Ministry which succeeded Pitt. It is known as the Ministry of *All the Talents*. Grenville was Prime Minister, and many Whigs, excluded from power since 1783, were brought in, chief among them Charles James Fox. He had always been pro-American and pro-Republican, and had declared that, because they were republicans, it was wrong to fight the French. He was a man of great ideas, but spoilt his reputation by his fondness for drink and gambling, the two curses of the age; he had been the

boon companion of the Prince of Wales. Now, when in office, he found out that it was Napoleon, not the British, who prevented peace; and he died the same year, knowing that the war was inevitable.

Before he died, he carried through the Commons a resolution against *the Slave Trade.* In 1807 it was finally abolished by an Act. When the planters were unable to buy negroes, they found it necessary to treat better the slaves they possessed. So slavery itself lost half its terrors. This policy of abolition merits our warmest praise.

But the war policy was still bad. In place of concentrating, to help the allies in Europe, a large force of the men who had been trained at Hythe, the ministry sent out several petty expeditions by sea. A small army won a victory in South Italy at *Maida*, but failed to save Naples from the French. *The Cape* was re-conquered from the Dutch, but a force sent to *Buenos Aires* failed disgracefully. The soldiers were being frittered away as before.

Napoleon at the height of his power. Prussia had not joined the allies in 1805, Napoleon dangling Hanover as a bait before the king's eyes. After Austerlitz there was no need to keep up any pretence; Prussia was goaded into war and lay prostrate after an utter rout at *Jena* in 1806. The conqueror ground her under an iron heel, and indeed treated her worse than any other country.

In 1807 he continued to fight the Russians. They expected aid from Britain, and that aid could easily have been sent. It never came, and Tsar Alexander made *the Treaty of Tilsit* with Napoleon.

This was the high-water mark of his glory. Belgium, Germany up the Rhine and even across the Rhine as far as the frontier of Denmark, Savoy, and North-west Italy, were incorporated with France; Holland had his brother Louis as king; North-east Italy was a kingdom under his stepson Eugene as Viceroy; his brother Joseph was king of Naples. His allies, Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, were

Europe: chiefly to illustrate Napoleon's conquests

raised to the dignity of kingdoms;—his policy was the same as that of Louis XIV, to favour the smaller German states against the stronger, and thus to keep Germany disunited. These three, a new kingdom of Westphalia under his brother Jerome, and some German duchies, formed the Confederation of the Rhine. Poland was made a duchy. Spain was his ally. Now at last Russia was his ally, and at Tilsit agreed to put pressure upon Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal. Sicily, protected by our fleet, was never conquered.

The Berlin Decree and Britain's reply. Unable to invade Britain, Napoleon set himself to ruin our trade. From Berlin he issued a decree that *no British goods might enter a French port* or any port under French influence. Here we see the importance of Tilsit; Russia accepted the decree and excluded our commerce, compelled Sweden to do the same, and threatened Denmark. George Canning was a young and keen minister, and he promptly sent both fleet and army, Arthur Wellesley commanding a division, to *Copenhagen*. The king of Denmark was asked to make alliance and hand over his fleet to Britain under trust. He refused. So to prevent Napoleon from seizing it the British attacked, took all the Danish ships, and destroyed the arsenal and stores. It was a sad necessity, but it made us very unpopular. Britain, it was argued, could send an overpowering force to coerce little Denmark when trade was threatened, or to seize the Cape from the Dutch, but never a man or a ship to help Prussia or Russia in their need.

The Continental system, as it is called, the beginnings of which were laid by the Berlin Decree, struck Britain very severely. Our forefathers felt the strain of this war far more than their forefathers felt the wars of Anne or George II, for two reasons. First, the new machinery, forcing our artisans from villages to new and growing towns near the coal and iron beds, greatly increased the output of goods; unless there was a speedy sale, men were thrown

out of work and starved; the manufacturers had to sell great quantities of woollen and cotton goods, cutlery and hardware, or ruin faced them. Secondly, the population had increased till our island could scarcely feed it. Napoleon was entirely wise to shut out our goods; but he missed his second chance, for he encouraged the import of corn into Britain so as to draw away British gold to pay for it, and thus failed to starve us out.

Manufacturers and artisans were saved from the threatened ruin in various ways. There was a vast amount of smuggling, for cheap British cloth was wanted in Europe, and even Napoleon cheated himself by smuggling cloth for his soldiers' uniforms. Then by good luck came the revolt of the Spanish colonies of Central and South America, and British goods were largely bought by them. Parliament made great efforts to encourage landowners to grow more corn, allowing them to enclose waste and common lands.

Our government retaliated against Napoleon by issuing *Orders in Council*, by which it was declared that no neutral goods might enter French ports or ports under French influence. The ever strict naval blockade excluded all seaborne commerce from France. No tobacco, raw cotton, sugar, or coffee, could enter French ports. The efforts of the French to make sugar from beet-root, which have been so successful in recent years, were then quite feeble. So, between Napoleon and the British, Europe suffered; but put the chief blame on Napoleon.

He did an immense amount of good to France. He arranged for the completion of a great code of laws; he gave her good order and government; he restored, in great part, the national position of the Catholic Church, though without allowing any political power to the Pope. Life was free, both in France and in the allied countries, far more free than under the old kings or electors or bishops or petty sovereigns. Old abuses were swept away, especially in

Germany. But the result was that all goods were dear, whether English cloth or colonial sugar. And, again, a heavy price had to be paid in the shape of Conscription. Frenchmen, Italians, Swiss, Dutch, allied Germans, Poles, all alike had to serve in Napoleon's armies to fight his battles. Therefore the end of his domination was bound to come sooner or later, if only Britain could last out. Then two things happened; Spain from being his firm ally became his bitterest enemy; Russia wanted to re-open trade with Britain and defied him. The Peninsular war was the "running" sore which drained his strength, the Russian war was the knock-down blow which laid him prostrate.

Beginning of the Peninsular war. We can easily understand why Napoleon sent General Junot to occupy *Portugal* in 1807; he wanted to bring Britain's old ally under the Berlin Decree. His interference in *Spain* was senseless; he took advantage of a quarrel between the king and his son, compelled them both to lay aside their claims, and sent his own brother Joseph from Naples to be king of Spain; Naples he transferred to Murat, his brother-in-law, the famous general of cavalry. The Spaniards rose and actually forced a French army to capitulate, to contemporaries an utterly surprising, incomprehensible event. Moreover it was a genuine national rising, provoked by Napoleon's contemptuous treatment and by the French soldiers' greed for loot. The whole country was up, and Joseph fled from Madrid. Hitherto there had been a pretext that Germany and Italy had been invaded for the good of the Germans and Italians, in order that tyrannical governments might be upset and abuses swept away; now Spain gave the example of a people's war against Napoleon's military despotism.

In reply to a request for British aid stores and weapons were sent. Canning was delighted to help such a genuine national rising. But first it was obviously best to send an army to Portugal, so as to crush Junot when cut off from

France by the whole of insurgent Spain. Not only was this country our old ally, but its situation helped us; our Sea Power enabled our armies to be landed when and where they were required, and, Lisbon once in our hands, they could advance up the river valleys; whereas from Cadiz they would have had to go across mountain ranges. The fact that we were helping both Portugal and Spain, distinct and rival nations, profoundly influenced the course of the war which had now begun.

The British soldiers now got their chance to prove their worth when well led. Abercromby had first shown the way in Egypt. The training at Hythe in 1803, 4, 5, in which Moore had a great share, had not been wasted. There was a better system of recruiting. Arthur Wellesley, "the Sepoy general," was just the man to utilise these advantages. The speciality of his tactics was the quick and steady fire of his two-deep line of infantry, which in his early battles he used for defence, but later in attack also. His character was marked by deliberate firmness in carrying out what he planned, but, when he saw his chance, he could strike a blow with startling quickness, if not with rashness.

First Campaigns in Portugal and Spain. In 1808 Wellesley landed in Portugal. With 18,000 men he repulsed Junot, who came out from Lisbon, at *Vimiero*; then two senior generals stopped the pursuit. By *the Convention of Cintra* Junot agreed to evacuate Portugal on condition of being taken to France with his army in British ships. It appears to have been a sensible enough treaty seeing that the fruits of Wellesley's victory had been thrown away; had he been allowed to pursue, it would have been unnecessary. Lisbon was won without a further blow. But the British public was indignant, and all three generals were recalled, leaving Sir John Moore in command.

In the autumn of 1808 Napoleon in person burst like a hurricane into Spain, scattered the Spaniards, threw his left wing at Saragossa and his right at Burgos, and himself

pushed on to Madrid and restored Joseph. Moore had orders to help the Spaniards, but found none to help. To give them time to rally, he marched towards Burgos and drew on Marshal Soult in this direction, and, behind Soult, Napoleon from Madrid. Then he turned and retreated to the north-west, Soult at his heels, and Ney at Soult's heels, for Napoleon himself had returned to France. After a bitter midwinter retreat he fought and repulsed Soult outside the port of *Corunna*, and himself was slain; the army was taken home to England. Moore had drawn two French armies into the poorest and bleakest part of Spain, and saved the south for fully a year. Could 25,000 have done more than this against 250,000? Canning had been enthusiastic when the Peninsular war began, but now was dejected at what he considered to be Moore's failure. But his fellow minister Castlereagh, whom we mentioned last as secretary in Ireland in 1800, was less despondent. It was by Castlereagh's influence that Wellesley was sent out once more. Not all of Spain and Portugal had been conquered by the French, and success was yet possible, if the British public would be patient.

Corunna had been fought in January 1809; Soult captured Oporto in March; Wellesley was back in Portugal in April with a new army, and in May crossed *the river Douro* in the most daring and clever manner and sent Soult flying in rout from Oporto with the loss of all his guns and stores. After this he turned south, then east up the Tagus, and in July repulsed Marshal Victor and Joseph Bonaparte at *Talavera*. But "Soult's reputation as a stout soldier was no wise diminished"; he rallied and came in behind Wellesley. With Victor in front and Soult in his rear, Wellesley slipped away and fell back to Portugal. He determined to secure the smaller country first and to save later the larger one; he could not help both at once, for, when the French concentrated, they were too strong for him. He was now created Lord Wellington.

The Peninsula: to illustrate the reigns of Anne and George III

In 1809 also the Austrians made their fourth effort. They fought well, but were beaten at *Wagram* close to Vienna. To help them Castlereagh sent a strong force against Antwerp as a distraction. The army got no further than the island of *Walcheren* at the mouth of the Schelde, a low and unhealthy spot, where the men fell sick with ague and fevers. Castlereagh was quite right in trying to help the Austrians, but the place was badly chosen. Still he deserves all our praise for his determination to support Wellington. After the Walcheren failure he fought a duel with Canning, and both left the ministry.

Crisis: successful defence of Portugal. In 1810 Napoleon had no other enemy in the field and could pour his troops into Spain. He sent Marshal Massena, Duke of Rivoli and Prince of Essling (a village near Wagram), "to drive the leopards into the sea." Perceval, our Prime Minister, gave Wellington free choice to defend or to evacuate Portugal. Let us consider the position. Some 80,000 French were required to hold down the Spaniards from San Sebastian on the French frontier, through Vittoria, Burgos, Valladolid, and Salamanca, to the Portuguese frontier; and even this number could not master the guerilla bands on their flanks. Massena had 65,000 for the invasion of Portugal. Soult with 70,000 was conquering Andalusia, and besieging Cadiz in vain. Joseph and other generals had other forces in the centre and east. The Spaniards raised army after army, were always beaten, and never gave in. Wellington had 50,000 British and trained Portuguese, and large bands of Portuguese militia for guerilla raids, and he was waiting for Massena, who took the whole summer to get ready.

In September Massena crossed the frontier. Wellington fell back, and on the ridge of *Busaco* concentrated his army and repulsed Massena with great loss. But still he fell back. The Portuguese devastated their own country, so as to starve out the French, while their militia closed in on

the rear as Massena advanced. At last Wellington's plan was seen. Between the sea and the wide Tagus his engineers had been erecting the double lines of *Torres Vedras*, 25 miles in length. Massena halted as Wellington withdrew within the impregnable fortifications. He dared not assault; Soult from Andalusia made no effort to come to his aid till it was too late. So, after existing the whole winter on such supplies as he could raise, he at last retreated and by April 1811 re-crossed the frontier into Spain. The Portuguese suffered terribly but were saved. The French could show, for all their efforts, only two captured Spanish fortresses on the frontier, Ciudad Rodrigo on a tributary of the Douro which fell to Massena, and Badajoz on the Guadiana which fell to Soult.

In 1811 Wellington was not strong enough to follow up. Massena fought him for the last time near Rodrigo at *Fuentes d' Onoro*, and then was recalled by Napoleon in disgrace. Beresford managed with great difficulty to repulse Soult at *Albuera* near Badajoz, where a resolute charge by the fusiliers showed that British infantry could attack. But no great success was won.

Successful offensive into Spain. In 1812 Perceval was murdered, and Lord Liverpool became Prime Minister; Castlereagh returned to the ministry. The Tsar Alexander at last broke with Napoleon, no longer being able to endure the losses caused by the exclusion of British commerce from Russia. Napoleon was preparing his mighty army of 600,000 French and allies to invade Russia. Under these conditions Wellington opened the year with good hopes. His plan was to dash into Spain, while the French were scattered; for they had to scatter at intervals to avoid eating up all their provisions at one spot. He advanced in January on *Rodrigo*, battered in a breach, and stormed with the bayonet before Marmont, Massena's successor, could collect his troops. In March he attacked *Badajoz*, and stormed it, but with very great loss of life. Then, pene-

trating into Spain, he won over Marmont at *Salamanca* in July his first crushing victory. At once he entered Madrid. But the further he advanced from Portugal, the more difficult he found it to face the concentrated French; their northern armies rallied; Soult evacuated the south, joined Joseph, and threatened Madrid. So Wellington, in spite of his victories, retired to Portugal once more, recoiling that he might jump the better next year. He had gained a very great deal, for he had captured the two border fortresses and won prestige, besides freeing all southern Spain. Soult quarrelled with Joseph and left the country.

Meanwhile Napoleon invaded Russia with his Grande Armée of half a million. He lost thousands on the way, but entered *Moscow*. The Russians set fire to their own city; yet, even if there had been no fire, he would have had to retreat owing to dearth of victuals. The cold and the Cossacks made this retreat one of the most ghastly in all history. The great army was almost annihilated.

Final collapse in Spain and Germany. The triumph of the Russians was followed by the uprising of Prussia in 1813. Napoleon called up all his reserves and conscripts, and was holding out in Saxony. Meanwhile Wellington marched from Portugal by the line of Rodrigo, Salamanca, Valladolid, Burgos, so as to cut the line between Madrid and France; Joseph quitted Madrid for the last time. The lines of Wellington's advance and Joseph's retreat met at *Vittoria* in June 1813; the British swept all before them, destroyed Joseph's army, and took all his treasure and baggage. The Austrians now joined the Prussians and Russians. Hemmed in by three armies, Napoleon was overwhelmed in October at *Leipzig*.

Slowly Wellington crossed the frontier into the south of France; Soult, sent back to the place of danger, contested every inch of ground. Slowly the allies crossed the Rhine into eastern France, Napoleon fighting fiercely at bay. There could be but one end; he abdicated in April

1814. But the last battle of the war was fought between Wellington and Soult at *Toulouse* after the abdication.

The war seemed to be at an end. We may ask ourselves, "Did Spain and Portugal free themselves from Napoleon, or did Wellington save them?" The answer is that in spite of patriotism, enthusiasm, the constant raising of new armies as fast as the French beat the old ones, the constant harassing of the French communications, the cutting off of stragglers and messengers by guerilla bands, Spain might have been held in subjection by Napoleon for many years, had it not been for Wellington and his regular army. On the other hand Wellington's one army could not have driven 250,000 French out of the Peninsula, had not they been distracted by the desperate Spanish efforts. Add the jealousy which existed between the French Marshals, their contempt for Joseph, the absence of Napoleon himself except for one short period, and the extreme difficulty of feeding so many French soldiers; and you have the causes of Spain's deliverance. Take the battle of Salamanca: Wellington's victory freed the south of Spain at one blow by forcing Soult to evacuate it; but he had his opportunity to win at Salamanca because nearly the whole of Spain was in arms. Portugal was more directly saved by British help, and the Portuguese were trained to be good soldiers by Beresford and other British officers. Finally we may say that Spain and Portugal with the help of Britain, Russia by the heroism of her sons in 1812, and Germany by her uprising in 1813, all contributed to Napoleon's fall. To Britain belongs the honour of steady opposition to him when every other nation had been crushed or become his ally, and to Wellington belongs the highest honour.

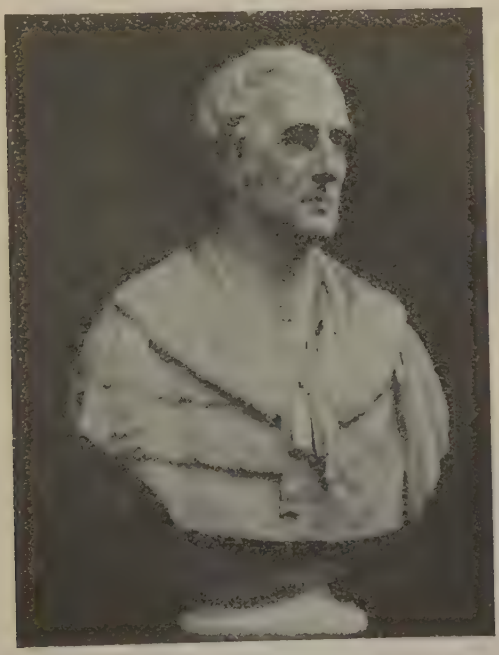
War with the United States. From 1812 to 1814 we were engaged in an annoying war against the Americans. As a neutral state they had resented our exclusion of their commerce, especially their cotton and tobacco, from French ports, and declared war. They had very few ships; our

navy was still large, but entirely engaged in the French blockade. Also all our money was wanted for Wellington and our European allies, and naval efficiency had declined since Trafalgar. When engaged in a struggle for life or death against Napoleon, our fathers felt very sorely that they should have to fight this new enemy. It was an unpleasant surprise when some of our frigates were captured in single-ship actions. But the victory of our "Shannon" over their "Chesapeake" off Boston could be set against these. On Napoleon's collapse many of Wellington's veterans were shipped off to America. Successes and defeats were very evenly balanced. We blockaded their coast and destroyed their commerce; but their privateers did us much damage. We repulsed an invasion of Canada, and were repulsed in a counter-attack by way of Lake Champlain. Our attack on *Washington* was entirely successful, and the government buildings there were destroyed, but our attempt on *New Orleans* was foiled with great loss. Much relief was felt when the mediation of the Tsar brought about peace by *the Treaty of Ghent* in 1814.

Campaign of the Hundred Days. A *congress* of the allies met *at Vienna* to settle the map of Europe. Louis XVIII was made King of France. Napoleon was left as ruler of *Elba*. He soon wearied however of his petty sovereignty and decided to aim at a recovery of his former power. He landed in France in March 1815. The soldiers welcomed him. Louis fled to Flanders.

It was a race against time. Would the allies collect enough men to crush him at once, or would he organize sooner than they? He rapidly mustered some 200,000 men, many of them being the prisoners who returned to France in 1814 from captivity in England or Germany or Russia. Wellington got together a British and German force in Belgium, but most of his veterans were yet in America; Blücher brought up some 100,000 Prussians who had been occupying the Rhineland; the Austrians and Russians were

yet too far off. Wellington and Blücher were planning an advance into France, when Napoleon got ahead of them and crossed the frontier with 130,000 men on Thursday, June 15. Wellington concentrated towards *Quatre Bras*, where the road leading due south from Brussels crosses a road



Duke of Wellington

running west to east, while Blücher took up a position at *Ligny* on the latter road. Napoleon gave his left wing to Ney to attack Quatre Bras, but Ney was repulsed; with the right wing under Grouchy and the centre under his own command he drove in the Prussians at Ligny on Friday, June 16.

On Saturday he took his centre to join Ney, and Wellington fell back to a position at Mont Saint Jean, on the high road, three miles south of *Waterloo* and thirteen from Brussels. The Prussians fell back by a parallel road to Wavre, while Grouchy was looking for them further eastwards. That afternoon and night rain fell in torrents.

Napoleon

On Sunday, June 18, Wellington had in line some 67,000 men, of whom only 24,000 were British and 17,000 Hanoverians; Napoleon had over 70,000 French, and a great superiority in guns. He attacked at mid-day over ground saturated with rain. His left was beaten back from the house and gardens of Hougoumont, his right from the farm of La Haye Sainte and the slopes to the east. Could he

keep up the attack? Troops were seen coming up from the north-east; were they Blücher's Prussians or Grouchy's French? Very slowly they came through rain-sodden lanes; they were the leading Prussian corps, and came into action on Napoleon's right flank about 4 o'clock, in such manner that he had to send most of his reserve to hold them off. Grouchy thought himself strictly bound by his orders to follow the main Prussian body to Wavre, and so did not march to the sound of the guns; indeed, had he tried to join Napoleon, he could hardly have arrived before sunset, considering the sodden condition of the country. The whole of the campaign depended on the question whether each of the armies had to traverse hard paved roads or muddy fields and lanes. Then Ney, to break Wellington's line before more Prussians appeared, launched forward his cavalry in waves, and the British and Hanoverians formed squares to meet them. Some dozen charges were repulsed; but about 6 o'clock La Haye Sainte was captured and French infantry effected a lodgement on the English side of the valley. Yet Wellington had an untouched reserve on his right, and Hougoumont still was held. Now the second Prussian corps had arrived and was threatening Napoleon's right. He had only his Guard remaining, half to send against the Prussians, half against the British. About 7.30 the British Guard and Light Division repulsed the French Guard, and then began the counter-attack. The third Prussian corps poured in. The French, attacked in front and flank, collapsed. The Prussian cavalry took up the pursuit, and Napoleon barely escaped. It was a rout, not a defeat, due to the harmonious co-operation of Wellington and Blücher; neither can be said singly to have beaten Napoleon; they were partners in victory, as Marlborough and Eugene had been.

The allies marched on Paris. Napoleon fled and surrendered to the captain of the British ship "Bellerophon."

He was sent to the island of *St Helena* in the Atlantic, and was there kept in our custody till his death.

Europe after Napoleon's downfall. The ministers of the Allied Powers sat at the *Congress of Vienna*, both before and after the 100 days, to arrange the map of Europe. Their intention was to settle international affairs by the *Concert of Europe*. First the frontier of France was fixed very nearly as it had been in 1789; even Alsace and Lorraine remained French. Of course Louis XVIII was restored, and the Royalists took such revenge as they could on the Bonapartists. But the old tyranny and privileges did not reappear. Especially the class of small landowners and peasant-proprietors, created by the great Revolution, clung to their lands, and, having got what they wanted and being determined not to lose anything by another revolution, they were henceforward strongly anti-revolutionary.

The next great need was to create along the French frontier a series of strong states which would prevent any new Napoleon from conquering Europe. Therefore Belgium was joined to Holland in the *Kingdom of the Netherlands*; the title of stadtholder disappeared, and the head of the House of Orange was restored as King. Middle Rhineland and Westphalia were awarded to the King of Prussia. Savoy and Piedmont were restored to the *Kingdom of Sardinia*, together with Nice and Genoa and all the intermediate coast, while Sardinia itself had never been French.

In Germany, the old Holy Roman Empire and the electorates and independent archbishoprics and bishoprics were not restored. The Emperor was now Emperor of Austria. The King of Prussia received, besides Rhineland and Westphalia, a large part of Saxony and of the country of the middle Elbe. George III became King of Hanover. The Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, though created by Napoleon, remained as Kings. Several Grand Dukes and Dukes had smaller lands; and there were four free cities, Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, Frankfort-on-the-Main. The

King of Denmark held the German duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. These sovereigns, thirty-nine in number where in old days there had been between 200 and 300, formed the *German Confederation.*

In Italy the Emperor of Austria took Lombardy and Venetia, besides a long strip of the Adriatic coast where were many ports formerly held by Venice. Several duchies were restored. The Pope was once more master of Rome and the States of the Church. The Bourbon King regained Naples, and, thanks to our sea power, he had never lost Sicily.

Poland was divided once more between Russia and Prussia and Austria, but the greater part and Warsaw in particular went to Russia. Denmark, always too warm an ally of Napoleon, lost Norway, which was joined to the Kingdom of Sweden.

All these groupings were arranged without any regard to the wishes of the inhabitants. The Belgians hated union with Holland, and revolted successfully in 1830; the Norwegians hated Sweden, but were not fully independent till 1905. But the most important thing to notice is that Prussia in reward for her services against Napoleon received a very large share of land in Germany, while Austria received her share in Italy; therefore the one was marked out as the power that would convert the loose German Confederation into the compact German Empire of 1871, and the interests of the other have been outside Germany. Meanwhile in every country the sovereigns were supreme and the peoples held down; parliamentary government, rights of free speech and free press, popular aspirations, were all rigidly refused; the Tsar of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria, formed the so-called *Holy Alliance*, so that they might dominate the Concert of Europe, maintain monarchy, and help weaker sovereigns to keep down their peoples. It was terribly hard on those nations who had risen to fight Napoleon, and who had as a fact done as much as or

more than their sovereigns to overthrow him, such as the Spaniards and Portuguese and Russians. On the other hand the Belgians, Italians, Poles, Saxons, and Bavarians and others, though conscripted to fight his battles, had enjoyed personal freedom and equality under his rule such as they had never had before, and therefore resented very much this new slavery. Italy was but a geographical expression, and the various states were held down by the Austrians or by pope and kings and dukes with the help of Austrian bayonets.

England after Napoleon's downfall. Our gain was mostly commercial. During the great war we increased enormously our Sea Power, obtained almost all the carrying trade of the world, and got a long start in the new manufacture by steam, thanks to our freedom from invasion and wealth of coal. Of our numerous conquests by sea we retained *Heligoland*, originally occupied as a blockading station when Napoleon held the mouth of the Elbe; *Malta*, the *casus belli* in 1803; *Trinidad*, *St Lucia*, and *British Guiana*; the *Cape*; *Mauritius*, conquered in 1810 because it was a base for French privateers; *Ceylon*. But we restored several places to France, and Java and other East Indian conquests to the Dutch. A line was drawn in the East between the British and Dutch spheres, and when we gave up Java we made a settlement on the island off the tip of the Malay peninsula; here, in the straits where converge the trade-routes of India and China and the Spice Islands, grew up the great mercantile capital *Singapore*. In the Adriatic we undertook the protectorate of the *Ionian Islands*; and we at once justified ourselves by sending Lord Exmouth and a fleet to the African coast, where he overawed Tripoli and Tunis, bombarded Algiers, and freed thousands of Christian slaves.

Since the collapse of the Whig Ministry of All the Talents in 1807 after the abolition of the Slave Trade, the Tories had remained steadily in power. The Duke of Portland was

Prime Minister 1807—09; then Mr Spencer Perceval up to 1812, when he was murdered; and Lord Liverpool, supported by Castlereagh as Foreign Secretary, from 1812 onwards. Perceval and Castlereagh had loyally assisted Wellington in the war, though it is true that he was continually grumbling. But after 1815 the Tory energies were devoted to the suppression of popular disaffection at home. Reform of Parliament was put off for fear of Revolution. *Six Acts* were passed against riot and conspiracies and libel. Free meetings were suppressed, for instance at Manchester in 1819 when yeomanry and cavalry dispersed with some bloodshed a mass meeting in St Peter's Fields; this was known as the *Manchester Massacre* or the Battle of Peterloo. A free press was impossible because of a very heavy stamp-duty on newspapers. Associations of workmen were prohibited by the *Combination Laws*. Bread was expensive, because by the *Corn Laws* foreign wheat was taxed[1] for the benefit of the home farmers and landlords. The taxation was crushing, and the National Debt had risen since 1789 from 220 millions to over 840 millions. The *Criminal Laws* were cruelly hard, imposing hanging as the penalty for quite minor offences, and judges were very severe. If saved from the gallows, convicts were crowded in foul prisons till they were transported in foul ships to Australia, so that first offenders and even quite innocent men and women were brutalised.

A little was done to lessen some of the worst evils, even in George III's reign. John Howard, High Sheriff for Bedfordshire, started his campaign against the scandal of the fever-breeding gaols. Mrs Elizabeth Fry, the heroic Quaker lady, was visiting and comforting women prisoners. Clarkson and Wilberforce were fighting against slavery, and in 1807 were successful in abolishing the Slave Trade. Samuel Romilly forced a reluctant Tory House to abolish

[1] The duty was regulated so that it could be imported free only if the home-grown was selling at 85*s.* the quarter.

hanging for some crimes. Robert Peel the elder got through a bill in 1802 to regulate the hours of apprentices in factories; and in 1819, coached by Robert Owen who was a model employer[1], he got through the first Factory Act, rather a mild and ineffectual affair and applicable to cotton-mills only. Very much remained to be done, and some of the reasons which made further reform necessary will be sketched in the next chapter.

George III died in 1820. He had, after several relapses and recoveries, gone quite out of his mind. His son had been Prince Regent, a title commemorated to-day by a street and a park in London.

[1] He had near his New Lanark mills a settlement of decent houses for workmen, schools and libraries &c., a sort of forerunner of Port Sunlight. He spoilt his influence by his open irreligion. Giving up the mills he devoted himself to founding a communistic settlement in the United States.

THE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONS

The tremendous strain of the long war, the heavy taxation and the piling up of the extra 600 millions of national debt, were felt the more keenly because just at this very time the conditions of life were being changed both in the country and in the towns.

We go back to the reign of William I and look at a typical *manor*; we see the three *open common fields*, two farmed and one fallow each year in rotation, divided up into sets of strips of which some were worked by the villeins or villagers for the lord's benefit, and some in common for their own, scattered and intermixed so that no man's holding lay in a compact block; there was also common pasture and woodland and waste; all disputes as to ownership and encroaching were settled according to the custom of the manor in the lord's manor-court. But this system was bound to be changed as time went on. The lord wished to make profit, and the villagers wished to be free; thus grew up a system of taking rent and paying wages on the one side, of paying rent and taking wages on the other. Also the lord wished to get all his land into one compact block so that he could have it farmed more profitably. This is the system of *enclosure*. It was carried out gradually in parts of England at various periods, more rapidly in the later Plantagenet reigns, and especially in Henry VIII's, when much ploughland was converted to grass to feed the sheep whose wool fetched high prices.

Now at every period when land was enclosed the small

men suffered. They were elbowed out or forced to sell their little plots, or they suffered in the days of revenge after Wat Tyler's revolt, or were thrown out of work when fewer hands were required to tend sheep than to plough and reap. In fact freedom included freedom to lose their land and starve. Their woes were voiced by Sir Thomas More and Bishop Latimer. But modern research shows that in a long period, between 1450 and 1650, not more than 750,000 acres were permanently changed to grass, and that districts in the midlands, where conversion was most severely felt according to More and Latimer, were in George III's reign farmed on the old system of scattered intermixed strips. The truth is that under Elizabeth there was a reaction in favour of corn-growing, and Parliament tried to obtain for each man by law his patch of four acres; in those days of wise benevolent despotism such an idea did not seem to be ridiculous. It was also under Elizabeth finally that our nation got into its own hands its own manufacture and trade; the Italian cities owing to conquest by Spain and to the discovery of the Cape route to India, and the Flemish cities also under the rule of Spain and suffering from the enmity of both the English and the Dutch, were ruined; the German merchants of the Hansa were expelled from England. Thus renewed farming prosperity and new commercial prosperity went hand in hand, and there was enough work for the country. The Navigation Acts of the Rump and Charles II completed what Elizabeth began, and, the Dutch carrying trade being ruined, all England's overseas ventures were in English hands.

The consequence was that all over England corn-growing and sheep-breeding, spinning and weaving, flourished together. In some parts there was more corn-growing; in other parts, for instance in the clothing towns of the West Riding near to the great sheep-runs on the moors, there was more weaving; but everywhere there was both work on the land and hand-manufacture in the cottages.

Under the Plantagenets the great landowners, nobles and country gentry, fought against the Crown to win for themselves the government of England. Under the strong rule of the Tudors the same class still governed; their ranks were filled up by new nobles enriched by monastery and church lands, also by successful lawyers and merchants, who soon became more "county" than the older county families themselves; they were the lords-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, sheriffs, and justices of the peace, but under the strict supervision of the Crown and Privy Council. Then the Civil War weakened the Crown, and indeed was largely caused by many landowners, Hampdens and Cromwells, who resented this supervision. After the Restoration large numbers of Cavaliers, ruined by their loyalty or by their extravagance at Charles II's court, were forced to sell, and more of the "new rich" got the land. Thus was formed the Whig oligarchy, men of great estates who influenced Parliament, substituted their authority as rivals to the Crown, and governed for their own profit. And it was these great landowners, whether the monastery-endowed Dukes of Bedford or the more newly rich Townshends and Cokes, who were the pioneers of scientific farming in the 18th century.

Townshend was not himself the inventor of the *rotation* of corn crops with *turnips and clover*, but he put into practice what others had thought out. Jethro Tull was the genius who, experimenting and persisting in the face of much ridicule, profited but little by his efforts; Townshend was the lord of many acres who had the sense to use the experience. The idea came from the home of *intensive farming*, the Netherlands; in fact Englishmen then were beginning to understand that something could be learnt from foreigners. The secret of it was that the turnips should be planted in regular drilled rows, not sown broadcast. The results were obvious; horned cattle need not be killed and salted, but could be fed in stall through the winter and grew

fat; the sheep put on flesh and thicker fleeces, and feeding on the turnips on the land they manured it for next year's crop, so that it was at last seen that no land need lie fallow, but that sheep-breeding and corn-raising should be practised together, whereas in Henry VIII's time the mistake was that pasture took the place of arable. But all this was possible only on enclosed estates. Wherever the old intermixed scattered strips survived the new farming was impossible. The gradual tendency of several centuries had led to enclosures in 45 per cent. of the parishes, in East Norfolk and Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex, Devon, Cornwall, and along the Welsh border; the remaining 55 per cent. had yet to be enclosed from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire through the Midlands into Hampshire and Wiltshire. This was the *Agricultural Revolution* and was carried out between 1760 and 1840[1], and was most rapid between 1790 and 1810.

A private *Enclosure Act* was passed by Parliament for each parish. Commissioners were appointed and made an award, giving each man a compact block of land equivalent to his set of strips, and also broke up the common pasture and waste. But the expense was great; there were heavy fees to be paid, and money was wanted for fencing the new lands and for seed and stock. Many of the small men, accustomed to the old methods, could not take to the new farming, and being in debt were tempted to sell. Consequently the owners of the bigger blocks bought up the little freeholds and copyholds. In any case intensive farming in an uncertain climate requires capital, so that the good years may counterbalance the bad. The better men might become tenant-farmers at yearly leases or foremen, but others sank to be poorly paid labourers.

The revolution in itself was good for the nation. It produced double and treble the amount of corn and meat to feed the growing population. Under Anne it is calculated

[1] A rough date. A few parishes were not enclosed till after 1850.

that there were 5½ millions of souls in England and Wales, and in 1760 perhaps 6½ millions; the first official census of 1801 gives nearly nine, that of 1811 over ten, that of 1821 over twelve. This tremendous increase corresponds with the keen period of war, and enclosure also was then most rapid. Consequently Napoleon, in spite of several very bad seasons, failed to starve us out. But it was the great landowners who got the profits, even as in the world of industry and trade it was the manufacturers and shipowners. Now the writers of that day, such as Arthur Young who had toured over England to report on agriculture and over France and Belgium to make comparisons, never faltered in their opinion that scientific farming could be properly and profitably carried out on large enclosed estates alone. But they acknowledged that medium and small freeholds should exist alongside, being more suitable for dairying and poultry-farming and other industries which need the personal supervision of master and mistress working on their own land. Small holdings were indeed common in some parts, in Essex where land had been enclosed several centuries back, and in Lincolnshire after quite recent enclosure. Moreover it need not have been beyond the wit of man to devise a system of allotments, by which the labourer, elbowed out of his holding, might have had his three acres and a cow, especially as he had lost also the common village pasture. But the whole thing came about rapidly and without due forethought for the future.

Meanwhile in George III's reign, as we have seen before[1], the influence of the old Whig families was waning, and the country nobility and gentry who administered the country were of the new Tory party; they were now the lords-lieutenants and sheriffs and justices. They paid a light fixed land-tax based on the values of William III's reign, since which their profits had increased out of all proportion. They

[1] See pp. 385—388.

received heavy rents from their tenant-farmers, yet were liberal enough in helping them to tide over bad years; in fact, as the interests of landlords and farmers were identical, there was good feeling between the two classes. Towards the farm labourers individual landlords were often enough generous in the way of garden allotments and in charity; but charity is unsatisfactory, and is at best dependent on good feeling in the individual. Certainly many people thought something ought to be done for the labourer; Pitt did suggest "three acres and a cow." But the idea was ridiculed. At whose expense were they to be provided? If the cow died how was she to be replaced? There were no Co-operative Societies such as might have contributed towards self-help, nor State-controlled Agricultural Banks such as have enabled the peasants of France to tide over a bad season. There was poor law relief in extension of the Elizabethan system. In 1782 *Gilbert's Act* ordered that work was to be found for the unemployed, which only too often meant unsuitable work. Outdoor relief on a system first practised by the justices at *Speenhamland* near Newbury in Berkshire, by which a few shillings a week were given to wife and each child, was both careless and wasteful; it merely pauperised the men, and gave an excuse to the farmers to pay low wages. It is thought indeed that such relief alone saved England from a fierce revolution at a time when the peasants, badly paid or unemployed, broke out spasmodically and vented their rage in rick-burning. Whether this be true or not, it remains that the labourers, cut off from the nourishing diet of milk and eggs, condemned to exist on potatoes, and paid on an average 7/- a week or but little more, sank to be thriftless drunkards; they had nothing to look forward to except rheumatism and the workhouse, or possibly gaol and transportation if they succumbed to the natural temptation to poach game. The most terrible picture of the hopeless poverty of this class is to be found in the pages of Arthur Young himself.

Thus in spite of the public spirit shown by the Tories in

their resistance to Napoleon, and especially in the one great matter of increasing the nation's food supply, we cannot be surprised at the violence of the new party of Radicals. William Cobbett, the "Hampshire Farmer," in his *Rural Rides*, a diary of his travels through England, gives pictures of country life a few years after Waterloo. Rents, he says, were very high, and wages wickedly low; the labourers raised magnificent crops, but themselves only ate potatoes, the poor man's food, for which the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh ought to be cursed. Old Sarum was "the accursed hill." The standing army was a curse; "yet barracks there must be or otherwise Old Sarum and Gatton would fall, and the fall of these would break poor Mr Canning's heart." London was "the great wen," an excrescence of a city, in whose suburbs were the smug villas of the bond-holders, the men who had lent the 600 millions for war and were enjoying themselves on the interest. We cannot but see the point of his violent attacks upon the Tory landlords and Parliament[1]. They had pulled the country through the war; but Cobbett could not see this, for to him the war had been due to an ungenerous refusal to allow France to have her own Republic, or her Emperor as heir to the Republic; he could only see the new peasant-proprietor class in France, and refused to acknowledge the wantonness of the wars of the Republic or Emperor. There was a real sting in his sarcasms, however much over-emphasised. The Tories seemed to maintain the small standing army after 1815, woefully small as it was for a possible new war, for the sole purpose of suppressing rioters and strikers, of maintaining the "rotten boroughs," and thus controlling Parliament. In Ireland landowners represented an alien Protestant ascendancy, though in Ulster tenant-right made the farmer independent of his landlord. In the Lowlands of Scotland land-tenure was much the same

[1] One of Cobbett's best known witticisms in another book is "'Enemy' is not a noun of multitude such as 'gang,' 'House of Commons,' 'Den of thieves.'"

as in England; in the Highlands many a Jacobite family began to thrive by sending out its sons to India, and, as new roads were constructed up the glens, the chieftains adopted the English idea that the land belonged to them and not to their clans, and should be used for their own benefit.

These considerations explain for us the intense bitterness that existed from 1815 to 1846 between the "haves" and the "have-nots." We shall see that there were reformers in George IV's reign even in the Tory ranks. But the *Corn Laws* were signs of the times. The landowners were determined to maintain farming as the chief industry of England, and put on heavy duties against foreign corn. But manufacturing towns had greatly increased in population and were still increasing rapidly, so that each of them was a "wen" though London was "the great wen"; and the citizens and mill-hands wanted cheap food. Therefore a tax on foreign corn was in the interest of one class, and the other classes were keen in opposition. It is impossible to deny that after 1846 the bitterness of legislation against the landowners and farmers was largely due to the memories of the previous period when they legislated for themselves alone. Consumer was pitted against producer, and each cared only for himself when he got parliamentary power, and thus each contributed in turn to destroy "the nice equipoise" which a little forethought and kindliness towards other classes would have saved.

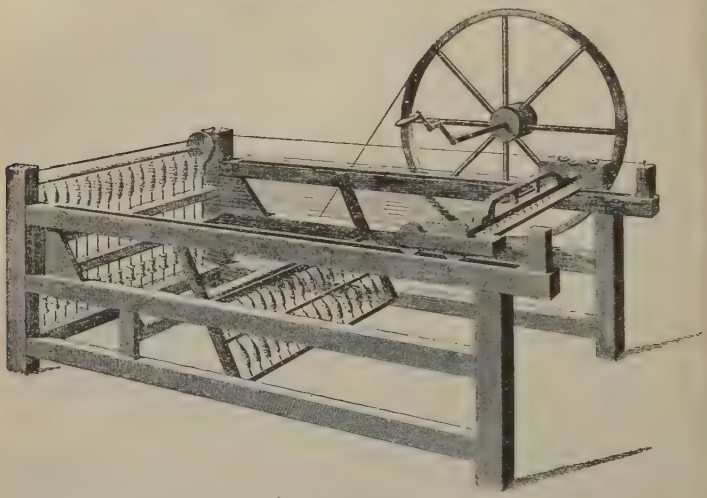
Here we see how the Agricultural Revolution, which would have caused much suffering in any case, was more acutely felt because it was in full swing at the moment when the *Industrial Revolution* suddenly started. The difference between the two is that in farming it was but the completion of a movement after some centuries of slow development, whereas in spinning and weaving there was a sudden outburst of inventions of new machinery to which first water and then steam was applied. The old hand-work indeed was not ruined at once; hand-looms were still in use in

1840; lace-making, straw-plaiting, and knitting lasted till much later. But the rapid development and improvement of machinery affected the national life so suddenly that it was a real revolution in that it steadily killed cottage industry. No longer could a labourer and his family spin and weave in the time free from land-work. Machinery demanded a full tale of hours, and carried off the workers from village to town. Thus the land-worker worked only on the land and the factory-hand only in the factory.

The Industrial Revolution began with *coal* and *iron*. It was known in the 17th century that iron ore could be smelted by coal as well as by charcoal. But it was only a little before 1760 that coal-mining was greatly developed. Kent and Sussex used to be the chief smelting districts, but the government began to restrict the excessive destruction of the forest trees, which were wanted for ships of war. Thus there was an increasing need to raise coal; and the mines were in the north and midlands. But it was difficult to transport such heavy stuff as coal and iron ore, and difficult also to pump out the water which the colliers struck. The one need inspired Brindley to design the Bridgewater Canal to carry coal from the mines of the duke of that name; it was opened in 1759, and can still be seen crossing by an iron tube the river Irwell, which has been transformed into the great and up-to-date Manchester Ship Canal. The other need was met by Watt, who invented the stationary steam-engine both to pump out water from mines and to haul trucks along tramlines, and it was first used by Boulton at Birmingham in 1776. Sheffield was already famous for cutlery and Birmingham for hardware before the steam-engine was developed for machinery, as can be seen in the outcry of the French after Pitt's Free Trade treaty of 1786, when our iron goods were found to be superior to theirs. The great Carron Iron Works in Stirlingshire were opened in 1760.

The great date in the history of *spinning* and *weaving*

is 1738, when Lewis Paul invented a method of twisting thread by passing it through rollers, and John Kay invented the flying shuttle. But their ideas were not worked out practically till the decade 1770—80. Raw cotton or wool or flax has to be washed, broken up, and carded or combed out. Then the fibres must be made parallel, attenuated, and twisted into yarn. The threads in the last stage before twisting are called rovings. The ordinary spinning wheel

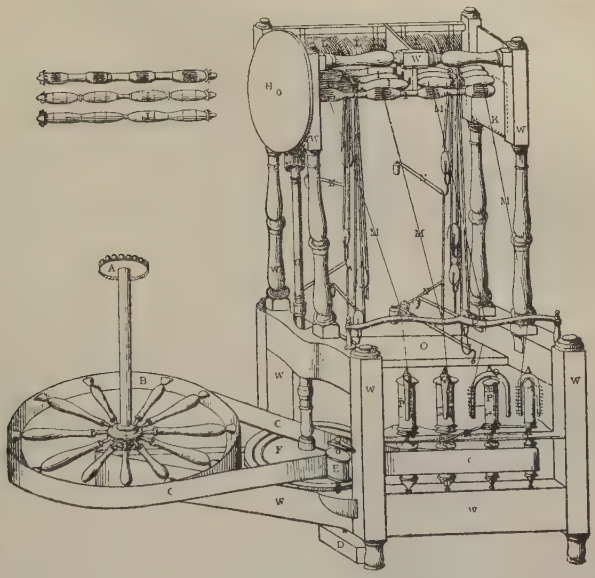


Hargreaves' Spinning Jenny

of the 18th century revolved a horizontal spindle, on to which the spinner twisted the weak rovings into strong and continuous lengths of yarn. There was so enormous a demand for English yarn both at home and abroad, and our commercial superiority was so great, that it was in England that the wits of inventors were challenged to discover quicker methods.

In 1767 James Hargreaves, a poor weaver of Blackburn, invented the "jenny," which he named after his wife, and

he patented it in 1770. He made two frames; the one was stationary and held sixteen vertical spindles, which could be revolved rapidly by a hand-wheel; the other was a carriage, containing sixteen vertical bobbins full of rovings, and made to run backwards and forwards on grooves; the carriage was put up against the fixed frame, and the ends of the rovings were attached to the spindles; the spinner pulled out the



Arkwright's Spinning Machine

carriage and unwound lengths of rovings, then he pushed it back and turned the wheel so that the revolving spindles twisted and wound on the threads as yarn. Improved jennies could carry fifty or sixty in place of sixteen. Hargreaves was persecuted by his neighbours, and his first jenny was smashed, as they said it took the bread out of their mouths.

Richard Arkwright, a pushing man who made profit from the ideas of others, patented his "roller frame" in 1771. A horse-turned wheel set in motion machinery which drew several rovings through sets of pairs of rollers, and they were guided and twisted on to spindles by means of fliers; it was an improvement on Paul's invention. Similarly he improved a carding machine invented by Paul.

Samuel Crompton, son of a small yeoman farmer near Bolton and brought up, as was usual then, both to farm and to spin, perfected in 1779 his "mule" which combined the jenny with the rollers. The upper part of a frame like Arkwright's held the rollers through which the rovings were drawn, and to it was attached a moveable carriage holding the corresponding spindles, on to which the yarn was spun and wound on its return journey. It only remained to move the rather complicated machinery by water-power, afterwards by steam. Mules, vastly improved, are in use to-day, but of course there are other machines, such as the ring-frame, more up to date. Crompton was too poor to patent his invention, and others stole his idea; he died, sensitive and bitter, in poverty.

In 1775 Cartwright patented the "power-loom" for weaving. He applied Kay's idea of the flying shuttle, which mechanically carried the yarn of the "web" in and out through the stretched lengths of the "warp."

Watt's *steam-engine* for the new machinery was first used in a mill in Nottingham in 1785, and by the end of the century was at work in both Manchester and Leeds. But water-power was for some time yet to come more convenient and more generally used. The impulse once given, the coal and iron industries were quickened. Works were set up to make machines, and Birmingham and Manchester encouraged each other.

Machinery was at first chiefly used in the cotton industry, for the treatment of raw cotton is more difficult and lengthy than that of raw wool. It was a comparatively new industry,

but had made great strides in the 18th century when it was found that the hot damp climate of the Carolinas suited the cotton plant. The damp climate of Lancashire was equally suitable for manufacture. Manchester, well served by the deep-water port of Liverpool on the American side of England, was already the cotton metropolis. Similarly the West Riding was already a wool centre. The intermediate Pennines are the source of many rivers, and, when water gradually was superseded by steam, gave abundance of coal. Consequently Lancashire and Yorkshire took a long lead which they have never lost. In the same way Glasgow, combining the advantages of Manchester and Liverpool, took and retains an assured position. And England had a long lead ahead of foreign countries. In our island, covered by the navy, possessed of nearly a monopoly of the carrying trade of the world, and having an abundance of coal, we could import raw material from everywhere and manufacture while Europe was overwhelmed by war.

Brindley continued to construct canals[1], and other engineers followed him, until by 1800 there were 4000 miles of waterways by which coal and ore, pig-iron and bales of goods, could be transported easily; they were also available for passenger traffic. Next came the need to improve the *roads*. Hitherto a willingness to let somebody else have the trouble and expense, which is often seen in free countries, whereas the old despotic kings in France provided at least first-rate main roads by the corvée, had allowed them to be disgraceful. John Metcalf was the pioneer of road-construction in Yorkshire and Lancashire; he was blind, yet surveyed and constructed some hundreds of miles in the period 1765—90,

[1] It is wonderful how our insular prejudice against foreigners so long refused to recognise the importance of canals. Not only the Flemings and Dutch, but also the French under the benevolent despotism of Henri IV and Louis XIV, were centuries ahead of us. Similarly blind prejudice upset the schemes of the 17th century to introduce Dutch engineers to drain the fens.

especially the Huddersfield-Manchester turnpike. There was a great improvement when John Palmer, M.P. for Bath, persuaded the Post Office to put on government mail-coaches in 1784. Thomas Telford constructed the Shrewsbury-Bangor road and the Menai suspension bridge, and in the Highlands, where government promised half the money if the clan chieftains found the other half, he laid a network of roads up the glens and also made the Caledonian Canal. Telford preferred a hard foundation and a surface of blocks.

Old Toll House, Reigate Hill

After 1815 John Loudon MacAdam—his family name was really MacGregor, but an ancestor had changed it when that notorious clan was outlawed—got the authorities to adopt his device of a loose foundation and a crust of sharp-edged bits of granite which the traffic welded into a hard elastic surface; the result was a cheap and lasting roadway which did not wear out the wheels and springs. The value of "macadam" may be seen in the great days of coaching, 1820 to 1840, just before it was ruined by railways; the 175 miles between London and Exeter took 17 hours, whereas in 1750 it was a matter of four days. Manufacturers and

mine-owners and farmers profited by the invention which was designed at first to benefit passengers.

From the stationary steam-engine which hauled trucks George Stephenson invented the *locomotive*. In 1814 he had one at work between a colliery and the port of Newcastle. The rails were heavy and embedded in the tracks and designed only for heavy transport, but, the invention once

Telford's Menai Suspension Bridge

made, it was but a question of adaptation and improvement. The Stockton-Darlington line was opened in 1825; the trial trip was only a bit of holiday fun, for the dozen miles were done in as many hours and the people walked home, but it marks a stage in the history of railways. The Bolton-Leigh line was opened in 1827, and the Manchester-Liverpool in 1830. At last Stephenson put on the "Rocket" which could do 30 miles an hour with a light load of passengers. His son, Robert Stephenson[1], carried on his work, completed

[1] Do not confuse the Northumbrian Stephensons with the Scottish Stevensons. Robert Stevenson completed the Bell Rock Lighthouse in

the London-Birmingham line, and designed the high-level bridges at Newcastle and Berwick and the tubular bridge over the Menai Strait.

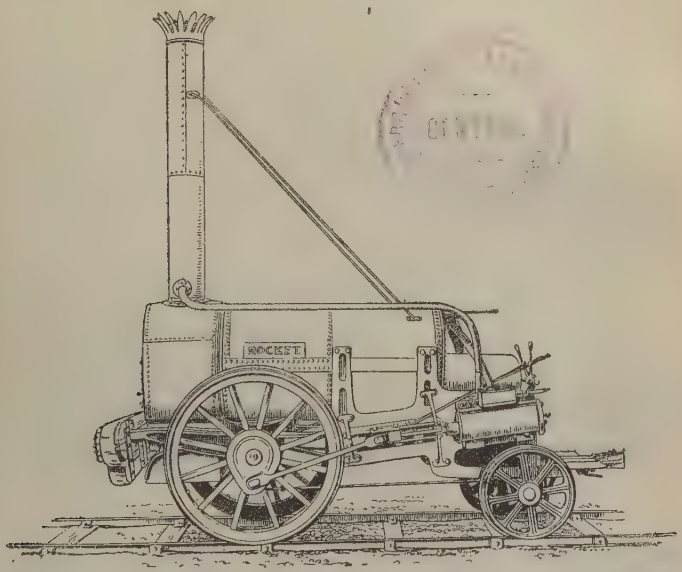
Science and invention are grand things, but the immediate results were not at all good. The lives of the industrial workers were soon changed for the worse. As fast as they came in from the country to live near to the factories which

The Black Bull Inn, North Side of Holborn

held the machines, streets of noisome airless houses were run up without forethought, often on unhealthy sites and without any drainage. Two classes of profiteers grew fat on the misery of others, slum landlords and jerry-builders. Often enough the factory-owner, himself perhaps a workman who had raised himself above his fellows, was the landlord,

1812; his three sons were lighthouse experts after him; and his grandson Robert Louis was the author of *Treasure Island.*

and he forced his men to live in his slums. Then over-production, when the machines turned out more stuff than could be immediately sold, threw men out of work, especially in the days when Napoleon's Continental System closed the ports of Europe against our goods; this caused riots, for instance the Luddite riots in 1812 in Yorkshire, so named from a poor fellow who first smashed the machines; and



indeed at any period keenness in the world of manufacture has caused ups and downs, which we now call booms and slumps, and which always lead to troubles.

But over-production or glut is counter-balanced by the discovery of new markets, for instance the revolted colonies of Spain, and by the steady increase of our own population; if there is a large supply of cloth and prices come down, there is a demand for it from the poorer people who cannot

afford it when they are high. A worse evil is that machinery enslaves a man by condemning him to monotonous toil, and kills the artistic sense. An unskilled worker, a woman or child, can at least turn a handle and feed a machine; and when they got low wages, the skilled artisan suffered in proportion. The hideous feature of factories was the slavery of women and children. Of course they both used to work, and were overworked, in the old days of cottage industry.

The Bell Rock Lighthouse

But the migration from village to town-slum intensified whatever they had suffered previously. Parents sold their children; workhouse authorities provided large numbers to be apprentices in name, slaves in reality. Girls were set to drag on their hands and knees tubs of coal. This is not a fancy picture, but was proved before commissions of enquiry ordered by Parliament. Both factories and mines were badly ventilated, sanitation was unknown, and dangerous machinery was not fenced. Food was in any case dear because of the Corn Laws; but there was also a vile system

called "truck," by which wages were partly paid by orders on shops belonging to the factory-owner, and naturally enough the food and clothing there provided were both bad and dear. Wages were very often paid in public houses. And meanwhile by the Combination Laws workmen were not allowed to form Trade Unions in self-defence.

The ideas of those who thought only of the profit were expressed by the words *laissez faire, laissez aller.* Let us go ahead and use our energies freely in trade and manufacture; let us buy as cheaply and sell as dearly as we can; England is a free country, and we must be free to compete with our rivals at home and abroad, because, although we have the start, foreigners will be catching us up; let us be free even to adulterate our goods and put shoddy on the markets,—it was John Bright who said that adulteration was but a form of commercial competition,—to pay low wages, to sweat women and children, to force our workers to go to our truck-shops, and to take heavy rents from slum property. The good side of unrestricted freedom in trade and manufacture was that the free use of brain and energy and money by the industrial leaders was creating national wealth, and the benefit would reach other classes at last. But this was poor consolation to those who toiled and suffered, especially in the bitter period up to 1846. Moreover it was a one-sided freedom, for the masters who claimed it for themselves denied it to their workmen; it is absurd to argue that the men, let alone the children, were free.

Yet, while as a class the manufacturers argued in this way, while even John Bright, Quaker, democrat, and honest employer, used most bitter language in 1846—47 against the Ten Hours Bill, from the same class came the pioneers of factory reform. Robert Owen, Robert Peel the elder, John Fielden, and many another, were manufacturers; even Michael Sadler, the Tory squire, was partner in some linen works at Belfast. They argued that the better the men

were paid, and the better the conditions of work and opportunities for education and enjoyment, the better they would work in shorter hours. Lord Ashley came in later to head the movement after first Owen and Peel, and then Sadler, had set it going. Richard Oastler, a fiery crusader who had already agitated against slavery, was coached and supported by John Wood, a manufacturer of Bradford; this was an ideal alliance between agitator and quiet practical business-man. After all, the real "villain of the piece" is the great British Public, ready to echo *laissez faire*, conveniently blind to the misery in the under-world, shocked for a moment as when Tom Hood wrote his *Song of a Shirt*, but ever anxious to buy cheap clothes or coal or cutlery. "It was all part of a system. Very good. There you were!" wrote Dickens in *David Copperfield*.

As against the idea of unrestricted freedom we have the idea of *State Control*. Of course every civilised nation prevents crime, which is but freedom to kill and steal, and taxes people so that they are not free to spend their money. But the Industrial Revolution gave rise to new questions; who have the right to represent the State? how far ought Control to interfere with Liberty? Jeremy Bentham, the acutest reasoner of the age, who lived while the revolution was starting and being developed, put forward "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" as the one aim of all laws. At once it was asked, what is true "happiness"? and ought the "number" of the uneducated to count? Now on looking back in history we see barons and churchmen struggling against Plantagenets, Puritan gentry and townsfolk against Stuarts, to gain their own liberties, i.e. the privileges of their own classes. Then the Whig oligarchy and the new Tory party in turn cared only for their own control over Parliament. Burke thought that party warfare was natural and that it produced a nice equipoise. But the unfortunate thing is that as each class prospered, as each class benefited the country, the Tory landowners by steady

resistance to Napoleon, the manufacturers and other capitalists by creating national wealth, they wished to promote their own interests without regard for the masses or for equipoise. To the Tories the idea of State Control meant they should continue to dominate Parliament and maintain Corn Laws: to the manufacturers the idea of Liberty meant the breaking down of Tory monopoly, resistance to Factory Acts, and repression of Trade Unions.

The truth is that it is difficult in the extreme to decide exactly where State Control of Liberty should begin or end. Perhaps Macaulay, then M.P. for Edinburgh, hit it off best in a speech in 1846. He denounced the Corn Law as "vicious interference," and *laissez faire* as "vicious non-interference"; therefore freedom is not something ideal in itself, but has to be judged by a higher standard. Could it be a true freedom which stunts the children's growth? There must be, as in all the judgments of history, a sense of proportion. Bright could only reply by twitting Macaulay for inconsistency in condemning both interference and non-interference.

Meanwhile the historian is conscious of bias when he seems to condemn either class. He knows that there were landowners such as the Russells ready to introduce the reform of the very system which gave them influence in Parliament, and manufacturers ready to promote factory reform. But it is the plain fact that class legislation is in itself hateful; it destroys the equipoise, and provokes violence; then comes reform followed by retaliation, even as in the French Revolution. Landowners have experienced it, and capitalists are experiencing it, for each thought too little in days gone by of the working man. And to-day he has his chance.

The idea of State Control created 19th century *Socialism*, from which has come 20th century Syndicalism. It was first clearly expressed in France. "We have been slaves, we have been serfs, we are workmen, we ought to be co-

partners." Most people have vague views about Socialism as something wicked in itself, as based on confiscation and leading to well-paid laziness. But the worst that can be said of it is that no two bodies of rival Socialists can agree as to its practical working. The Post Office is not inherently wicked, and it is our typical Socialistic institution. We are accustomed to it, for as far back as Charles II's reign the State undertook the task of carrying people's letters, and in 1784 under Palmer's scheme put on public mail-coaches. In our days it manages the Savings Bank, Telegraph, Money Orders, Parcels, Telephone, Old Age Pensions, National Insurance. The principle is that the profit should go to the nation and not to individual shareholders. Similarly when a town manages its own water supply, gas, electric light, or trams, it is Socialistic. Railways are to some extent Socialistic, because Parliament alone can authorise construction, imposes conditions such as penny-a-mile third-class fares, and investigates accidents; but the shareholders of the railway companies take the profits. The worst of the Post Office is that it does not pay, because the public demand cheapness; therefore, if the railways, mines, factories etc., were run on Post Office lines, that is to say if our country were completely Socialistic, the taxation would be terrific; also an army of government officials and inspectors would be required. Indeed since 1914 we have had Socialism, terrific taxation, and the army of officials, owing to the disturbing influence of war[1].

[1] A large number of books have been written on the two revolutions, many of them violent in tone. Mr R. E. Prothero's *English Farming, Past and Present* will be a classic. *A History of Factory Legislation* by Miss Hutchins and Miss Harrison, *Welfare Work* by Miss Proud, *Industrial History of England* by H. de B. Gibbins, and the revised edition of Green's *Short History* with Mrs Green's *Epilogue*, are very useful. The best short book is G. Townsend Warner's *Tillage, Trade, and Invention.*

GEORGE IV, 1820—1830

CANNING FOREIGN MINISTER 1822, PRIME MINISTER 1827;
NAVARINO BAY 1827;
CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION BILL 1829.

Things seemed to be worse than ever when the new reign began. Discontent, as the result of the Manchester Massacre and the Six Acts, led to conspiracy. A gang of ruffians planned to murder the ministers, but luckily a traitor gave information. They were overpowered by the Bow Street runners in a house in *Cato Street*. Then the mob of London took up very violently the cause of Queen Caroline, George IV's wife, whom he wished to divorce and whom he refused to allow to be crowned with him. In 1822 Lord Castlereagh committed suicide and there was a howl of delight from his many enemies. He had been a man of grit and determination during the Napoleonic wars. He had pinned his faith to Wellington and had always advised the British nation to make the strongest efforts, however firmly seated Napoleon seemed to be. But this was forgotten. People could see in him only the minister who suppressed free meetings by cavalry charges and who stopped free speech by the Six Acts; so his death seemed to be a national gain. Canning succeeded him as Foreign Secretary, Robert Peel was Home Secretary, and William Huskisson President of the Board of Trade, under Lord Liverpool as Premier.

Tory Reforms at Home. A new era opened in connection with both foreign and domestic policy. Joseph

Hume, a retired Anglo-Indian who for some 30 years led the little Radical party in the Commons, coached behind the scenes by Francis Place[1], exerted himself on behalf of the working men. He got even the Tory Parliament to appoint a committee to investigate grievances, and so strong was the

[1] It may be that Place has not till recently received the honour due to him in history. He was a tailor and lived near Charing Cross, where he made his shop the rendezvous of the earnest Radicals. He had a tremendous power of collecting facts and forcing public opinion to recognise them. His influence over the borough of Westminster was great; this was a town quite distinct and independent, touching London City at Temple Bar and Holborn

Election of M.P.'s for Westminster, 1820

Bar, extending northwards to Oxford Street, westwards to Kensington; all citizens who paid scot and lot, i.e. local rates and taxes, had votes and there were over 10,000 of them, so that the Westminster election was a real test of public opinion. Place organised so well that two Radicals were always returned without bribery. He was the centre of the agitation for the Reform Bill and drew up the original five points of the People's Charter, but was opposed to violence and the extension of Trade Unionism. See *Life of Place* by Graham Wallas.

evidence collected by Place that the *Combination Laws* were *repealed* and Trade Unions so far acknowledged. Whatever we may think of Trade Unions to-day, it must be agreed that the laws which then made workmen slaves, and therefore dangerous rioters, were bad. Combination was now allowed, but not molestation or obstruction. On the other hand it must be confessed that the repeal was followed by many strikes and even acts of violence in some districts, notably Sheffield, where unionists terrorised non-unionists. This was in 1824—25.

Peel's chief work in this period was amendment of the *Criminal Law*, carrying out Romilly's policy of abolishing hanging as the penalty for crime, until at last murder alone remained a capital offence. Huskisson set to work to lay the foundations of *Free Trade*; the French after 1789 had cancelled Pitt's treaty of 1786 (pp. 403—4). He reduced the import duty on raw silk and raw wool from about 6*d.* to 1*d.* a pound; raw cotton was already free of tax. He reduced the duty on spun and on woven silk. He modified the Navigation Laws by "reciprocity"; that is, wherever a foreign nation agreed to a bargain on equal terms, ships could ply freely as regards cargo and flag and the nationality of the crews between our ports and its ports.

The Foreign Policy of Canning. In Europe the *Holy Alliance* was supreme. At one time, to carry out its orders, an Austrian army marched on Naples to restore the tyrannical Bourbon King against the Liberals who forced him to grant a Parliament; and a French army entered Spain to restore his Bourbon cousin.

Castlereagh by no means supported the Holy Alliance; in fact he more than once remonstrated against its orders. But it was only after his death that Canning, becoming Foreign Secretary in 1822, actively resisted it. Canning sent troops to Portugal to stop civil war and support the youthful Queen Maria, who stood for parliamentary freedom, against her uncle who stood for absolute monarchy. More

important still, Canning acknowledged as independent powers the *Republics of South and Central America*, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Mexico and others, so that if absolute monarchy was restored to Spain it was restored without the wealth of America at its back; this he called "calling the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." At the same time *President Monroe* of the United States pronounced his famous *doctrine*; the United States would recognise these new republics as independent *de facto*, and would view with disfavour any attempt of an European country to found any new colony in America. Being a subordinate member of the Cabinet before 1822 Canning, on the theory of "Cabinet Solidarity," has to share with Castlereagh the responsibility for having done little so far to check the Holy Alliance. Had he not committed suicide it is quite possible that Castlereagh would have taken the step forward and defied the Holy Alliance. But it remains that Castlereagh had done nothing more than protest, and Canning must have the honour of active opposition.

The War of Greek Independence. All that happens in the Balkan Peninsula we call the Eastern Question, and of recent years, in contrast to the affairs of China and Japan, we call it the *Near Eastern Question*. Wellington was the first statesman who told us that we should resist all attempts of the Russians to gain power in the Mediterranean, and therefore should support the Turks; yet Russia had been our most hearty ally from 1812 against Napoleon. When the Greeks rose in revolt against the Turks in 1821, the Duke's influence was strong enough over the Cabinet to prevent our giving any help to them. Even Canning, when Foreign Secretary, for half a dozen years did nothing to help the Greeks. Whatever support was given by Great Britain was that of private individuals, such as Admiral Cochrane and Lord Byron[1].

[1] But Shelley's poem *Hellas* is a much finer expression of Greek aspirations than anything that Byron wrote.

The Greeks were holding out well; but the Sultan called in to help him Mohammed Ali, nominally his vassal governor of Egypt, but really an independent sovereign with a disciplined and merciless army and fleet. Mohammed's son, Ibrahim, was conquering and torturing Greece, so that at last the civilised nations had to interfere. Tsar Alexander I, who thought even a revolt of Christians against Turks to be wicked, died and was succeeded by Nicholas I; Great Britain

Navarino

and France were roused, and Wellington himself brought about an understanding; then, as Liverpool resigned, Canning was at last Prime Minister in 1827 and converted the understanding into an alliance. The three allied fleets, under Admiral Codrington, destroyed Ibrahim's ships in *Navarino Bay* off the south coast of the Morea. Canning was already dead before the battle.

Wellington was Premier in 1828, after a short stop-gap

ministry. Afraid of weakening Turkey for the benefit of the Russians, he called Navarino "an untoward event" and withdrew our forces. But the Russians continued the war and forced upon the Sultan the *Treaty of Adrianople* in 1829; then Greece was at last free. His policy therefore was a failure, for Russian influence over Turkey was all the greater because of our withdrawal. Palmerston and Disraeli in later years followed him in bolstering up Turkey, yet opposed Russia more energetically.

More Tory Reforms at Home. Wellington's ministry was mostly composed of old-fashioned extreme Tories. Peel was leader in the Commons. The Canningites, who were in favour of some reforms, were drawing towards the Whigs, Palmerston and Melbourne for instance. But even the Wellington-Peel Tories were forced by public opinion towards reform.

Religious toleration was the chief question. Protestant Nonconformists were able to escape by various ways from the penalties of Charles II's Corporations Act and Test Act; but Roman Catholics were still unable to hold office or sit in Parliament. Hitherto Catholic Relief was a "non-cabinet" question; that is, men like Castlereagh or Canning had been in the cabinet and yet had favoured it, while the mass of the Tories opposed it. Now in 1828 Lord John Russell, a young and energetic Whig leader and member of an old "oligarch" family, forced the Tory government to allow the repeal of the two acts. Then in 1829 even Wellington and Peel brought in the *Catholic Relief Bill*. The reason was simple; Ireland was tremendously excited, in fact was on the verge of a rebellion; Daniel O'Connell was at the head of a Catholic Association, and was actually elected for county Clare, though not qualified to sit. Fearing civil war more than anything else and, like a good general, falling back from a position which he wished to defend but found indefensible, the Duke gave way. Peel agreed with him and, as he said himself on a later occasion, "I reserve

to myself the right of adapting my conduct to the wants of my country." The Catholics were now free to hold any office under the Crown, except those of Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to enter the army and navy and civil service without restriction, and to sit in Parliament.

In 1829 Peel established the *Metropolitan Police* under the authority of the Home Office. In the City of London itself, that is to say the London bounded by the Tower and Temple Bar, and in all other boroughs and counties, the local authorities controlled and still control policemen, but in Greater London it was certainly a good thing that the central government should take over control. Previously the watchmen were very inefficient, and whenever there was serious trouble soldiers had to be called out to suppress rioters, so that the new police were much wanted. Thus the old "Charlies" as they were called gave way to the modern "Bobbies" or "Peelers"; and the highly efficient Bow Street runners, known as "Robin Redbreasts" from their red waistcoats, were transformed later into the detectives of the Criminal Investigation Department.

Whether the reformers were Canningites or Peelites, we acknowledge that they did a great deal for their country, and the era of simple repression seemed to be passing away. Yet Disraeli afterwards said that they were only yielding to outside pressure and violence in fear of more Cato Street conspiracies; leaders, he said, ought really to lead on definite high principles, not follow public opinion blindly.

WILLIAM IV, 1830—1837

The Great Reform Bill Passed, 1832.

George IV left no children. The second brother, Frederick, Duke of York, the late Commander-in-Chief, was dead. Therefore the third brother succeeded, William, Duke of Clarence, who became the popular sailor king, a man of somewhat obstinate character like his father, but simple and straightforward. We remember his reign by one chief event, the bitter struggle which attended the passing of the Reform Bill. An unpopular or tricky king would have made the crisis very bad indeed.

Whigs in power at last. The Tories being split into two sections on the Catholic question, the Whigs, even on the old unreformed system of voting, got a majority in the first general election of the new reign. Lord Grey, who forty-five years back in 1785 had already spoken in favour of the Reform of Parliament, became Prime Minister; Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary. But before the Bill was introduced a revolution broke out in Paris in 1830. The last of the autocrat Bourbons, Charles X, fled; his remote cousin, Louis Philippe of the House of Orleans, was put on the throne as a constitutional middle-class king. Undoubtedly the first result of this was to frighten both the Tories and William IV. As in 1789 so in 1830, there was a fear that Reform in England, being a concession to violence, might lead to Revolution as in France.

The new Whigs were much changed from the old "oligarchs," who had dominated Parliament down to the

year 1770. Being out of power, except for a few months at the end of the American War in 1782—3, and again in 1806—7 when they abolished the Slave Trade, they had become in opposition the champions of Catholic Emancipation and Reform of Parliament. Still, some of their leaders, such as the Duke of Bedford, were great landowners, and therefore the Reform which they advocated would destroy what remained of that "influence" to which they had owed their power in elections and their hold over Parliament; and it is to their credit that they knew this and yet were for Reform. They had little sympathy with Hume and the new Radicals, yet wanted their votes.

The Old Unreformed House. We have first to ask, what places elected members, and who were the electors? The *Counties* had two M.P.'s each, Yorkshire no more than Hunts.; the electors were the freeholders of land of 40*s.* in value and over, and it was most difficult to buy land so as to get a vote. The *Boroughs* were originally chosen by Edward I; several more were added by Edward IV and the Tudors, mostly in Cornwall, Wiltshire, and Hampshire; and Charles II added the last two, Durham and Newark[1]. They included cities and towns still large and important; many once important and now decayed; and villages and little places lying under royal castles which the kings expected to control by royal influence, but which in fact often elected strong opponents of the Crown. A few of the new great manufacturing or trading towns had members, e.g. Liverpool, Wigan, Preston, Coventry, but not Manchester, nor Birmingham, nor Sheffield, nor any in the West Riding. The methods of elections varied; in London the four members were returned by the City Companies; in Westminster, Bristol, Coventry, Preston, the "scot-and-lot" householders voted; at Old Sarum, "the accursed hill" which was once a cathedral city, the seven farmers of the land

[1] In reward for having held out against the Parliament and Scots till after the surrender of Charles I.

had to vote exactly as their landlord ordered them; but usually a very small body of "freemen," who themselves filled up any gap caused by death, voted as if they were the whole population of the town. Boroughs of the type of Old Sarum could be bought outright, and those of the other kind were bought by bribes to the freemen at election time.

Men as sensible as Canning and Peel believed in this system. Public opinion often made itself felt in the Commons, and good men sat for the worst boroughs; moreover many a clever but nervous statesman was elected, who could never have faced the worry and heckling of modern times. But for many years before 1832 the feeling of the country was against monopoly of seats belonging to two classes, landowners and rich men, for, however honourable and able they might be, they had no right to keep out other classes for ever.

The Progress of the Bill. *The Reform Bill* was brought up in March 1831 by Lord John, though he was not in the Cabinet. Over 600 members voted, and there was a majority of one in favour. This, of course, was not enough, and Lord Grey dissolved Parliament soon afterwards. There was a new election, and the Whigs got a larger majority, even some of the worst boroughs sending up reformers. In July 1831 the second bill was brought up and carried by 136 votes, but in October the House of Lords threw it out. There was immense excitement up and down the country. Very serious riots occurred, especially in Bristol, where a mob set fire to several houses and very nearly to the shipping. In big towns there were monster meetings, and associations were formed. There was talk on the one side of calling upon the army to crush the supporters of the bill, and on the other side of making a rush upon the Bank of England and demanding gold for notes. Macaulay[1],

[1] He was M.P. for Calne in Wiltshire, a borough which lost one member by this bill.

who had come before the public as a young and spirited essay-writer of strong Whig ideas, wrote to beg William to put himself forward, as Richard II had done when Wat Tyler was killed, and say "I myself will be your leader." But William hated violence and would not lend himself to mob rule, especially in view of what had recently taken place in France.

A third time the bill was carried in the Commons, in March 1832, by 116 votes. Again the Lords threw it out. There was therefore a deadlock. Wellington was asked to form a Tory ministry, but he found that he could not get his friends to join him. It was therefore brought in upon the King that it was a national movement, no longer a question of mobs and rioters. No unprejudiced reader of the period can argue that violence, and violence alone, influenced him. In spite of what happened at Bristol and in spite of a very great deal of wild talk, the nation wanted "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." The King was quite straightforward and honest in accepting this view at last. He had given Wellington his chance, and Wellington had not been able to take it. So he gave a promise to Grey that he would, if need were, swamp the House of Lords by new creations. Once before a sovereign had created a dozen Tory peers in order to force the Treaty of Utrecht against a reluctant Whig majority in the Lords. Now the threat alone was enough. The Duke and his party abstained from voting, and the bill passed the Lords.

The New Reformed House. Some of the boroughs lost both members, some only one, and there were 143 seats to be allotted. Of these 65 were given to the counties; six members sat for Yorkshire, four for Lancashire and Devon and the larger counties, three or two for the others. Twenty-two large towns, e.g. Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, and five districts of outer London, got two each; twenty-one smaller towns, e.g. Bury and Huddersfield, one each. To put it another way, Lancashire now had a total

of 22 borough seats in place of 12, Staffordshire 13 in place of 8, Cornwall 10 in place of 42, Wiltshire 14 in place of 32, Hampshire 14 in place of 24. In Scotland counties continued to have one member each; Edinburgh and Glasgow got two; Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Paisley, Greenock, one; otherwise, as before, groups of boroughs had one each, a sensible system which might have been copied in England. In Ireland counties retained two each; Dublin and Cork retained two; Belfast, Galway, Limerick, and Trinity College were promoted from one to two.

In counties the vote was given to all copy-holders, long lease-holders, and yearly lease-holders at £50, as well as free-holders. In boroughs a £10 franchise was fixed; that is, all who rented houses rated at £10 got the vote, and in consequence the poorer scot-and-lot voters lost it. At first it seemed as if the £10 men, the skilled artisans and middle-class men who could afford to rent such houses, would dominate the country. But the landowners remained very strong, for the enlarged county representation was in their favour and they could give many £50 leases to their farmers; moreover, they always had considerable influence in the boroughs near to their estates. The new House was anything but revolutionary. The working classes, as working classes, gained practically nothing. Bribery, intimidation, and jobbery by no means disappeared.

The First Reformed Parliament. There was at once a new election, and naturally the Whigs remained in power. In 1833 Lord Grey introduced a *Bill to Abolish Slavery* in British Colonies. A sum of twenty millions was given to compensate slave-owners, and the slaves were freed gradually. Of course in the West Indies sugar at once became more expensive, for free blacks work badly though they demand high wages. The Boer farmers of South Africa, hating to have to liberate their Hottentots, began to trek into Natal and across the Orange River.

Next came the *Reform of the Poor Law*, which aimed

at restricting the outdoor relief, which, on the Speenhamland system, was given promiscuously to both the honest poor and the worthless paupers. By the new law the whole country ceased to pay by means of outdoor relief what was the duty of employers, especially farmers, to pay in wages. It seemed to be very cruel, but was really necessary. The yearly sum paid in poor rates immediately sank from eight to three millions. Only the old and sick could now obtain relief, there were no doles to wives and children, and able-bodied men out of work had to go into the workhouse. Parishes were grouped in unions, hence the word "union" to mean workhouse.

Oastler and Michael Sadler were pushing on the factory question since Owen gave it up. Even during the excitements of 1831 a mild bill was passed. Then Sadler obtained a committee, and was himself chairman of it, to collect more evidence. The cause was unpopular, for the national conscience was not yet roused. Sadler lost his seat, and soon died, worn out by his efforts. But then Lord Ashley came forward in the name of religion and humanity, and introduced and carried the *Factory Act* of 1833. It limited children to 48 hours a week, young people to 69 hours, in all textile works, provided a minimum of schooling, and, most important of all, appointed inspectors to enforce obedience, which had been easily avoided under the earlier acts.

The strong Whig party split into sections, chiefly because of personal jealousies. Lord Grey resigned, and Peel actually formed a Tory ministry. But an election maintained a Whig majority. Lord Melbourne was the new Prime Minister in 1835; he took his title from a little town in Derbyshire, and the big city in Australia has its name from him.

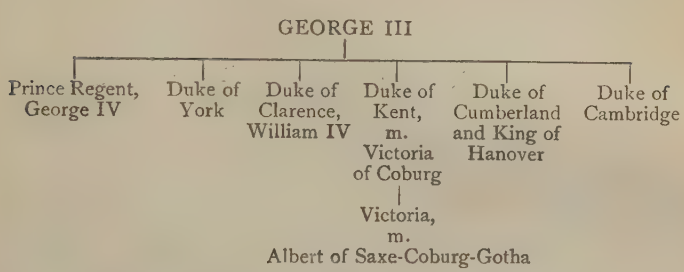
The chief measure of 1835 was the *Municipal Reform Act* by which Melbourne took the election of Town Councils away from the small bodies of "freemen" and handed it over to all the ratepayers. The Lords opposed it in defence of

"vested interests," but Melbourne brought them round by excluding London from the bill. When passed, it was like the Reform Act; it did not make the government of the boroughs perfect any more than the other made the government of the nation perfect, but it enabled the ratepayers, if they were sensible, to put honest men on the Town Councils and thus stop the jobbery of the freemen; it has not prevented town politics from being the sport of self-interested men, yet has given a chance of clean government.

The Creation of a New Nation. The lead of France was followed by the Belgians, who revolted against the Dutch. Palmerston and Louis Philippe were both in favour of Belgian independence, and a British squadron blockaded the Schelde while a French army captured Antwerp. Then the Dutch gave way. Leopold of Saxe Coburg, uncle of both Victoria and Albert, was chosen as the first King. In 1838 was signed the "scrap of paper" by which the Powers, including Prussia, guaranteed the neutrality of the new Kingdom. It did not become immediately prosperous, for the Dutch still held the mouth of the river and thus prevented Antwerp from having any trade. But in 1864 the Belgians bought the right of navigation, and then, free and unfettered for the first time in their history, after having been under the control of Spain, Austria, France, and Holland in turn, they showed that the old Flemish skill and energy had merely lain dormant; they developed in the last fifty years a power of industry and created a commerce, with Antwerp as their base, which attracted the greedy eyes of the Germans, with the result that we know. Poland also revolted against Russia, but neither Palmerston nor France cared to interfere; they were sympathetic, but the country was far away, whereas they needed a free Belgium close at hand.

Meanwhile the French under the rule of Louis Philippe began to lay the foundations of a new colonial empire, and set to work to conquer Algeria.

VICTORIA, 1837—1901


GEORGE III
Prince Regent, George IV
Duke of York
Duke of Clarence, William IV
Duke of Kent, m. Victoria of Coburg
Duke of Cumberland and King of Hanover
Duke of Cambridge
Victoria, m. Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha

Difficult indeed it is to explain and appreciate the work of Queen Victoria during her reign of 63½ years. Her good taste and good personal influence were conspicuous throughout. The two "Jubilee" ceremonies of 1887 and 1897 proved her popularity and the nation's serious loyalty. At one time her husband, Albert the Prince Consort, was unpopular; but we know now that his influence too was all for good. No woman being able to rule Hanover, her uncle became king there, and so the Hanoverian connection came to an end after 123 years. But, as was said before, it is a false view of history which considers that connection to have been useless; it had always given to us an ally, and the swallowing of Hanover by Prussia in 1866 was one of the acts that has made the German Empire so formidable.

The Reign of Progress. That there has been progress is certain. That we often have fondly imagined that we have done enough and are perfect as a nation, as though there were no more abuses and no more foul places in our midst,

is more certain still. There is yet much unnecessary poverty both in country and in town. We can indeed point to the new districts around our towns, visible from any train, where the streets are wide, the drainage is good, and the houses, if small, have at least enough cubic space of air. We have our garden cities and model villages. But progress was very slow. Chadwick, the pioneer of sanitation, laboured a long time before he could get town councils to listen to him. It is a humiliating fact that the first fund for the buying up of slums and the construction of artisans' houses was started by an American, Mr Peabody. The evils which attended the first sudden growth of our manufacturing towns have been reproduced in our own days in South Wales, where, in the rapid development of the coal industry, miners' houses were run up amid grit and grime, on badly chosen sites on the sunless side of the valleys, without any provision for recreation and self-education; here the discontent of the men, although they are well paid, is chronic and natural, and the new generation is less healthy. Mr Lloyd George has put it very clearly[1]. "The number of B 2 and C 3 men throughout the country is prodigious, at least one million, who, if the State had taken proper care of the fitness of the people, would have been available for the war....In agriculture a virile race has been wasted by neglect and want of forethought....You cannot bring up healthy people in unhealthy homes. We have talked about the problem of housing for forty or fifty years, but it has never really been taken in hand."

The modern idea is to be generous to the "have-nots," but it is hard to be also just to the "haves." A reform is put forward; the class or classes which have "vested interests" oppose it obstinately; then there is violence, whether rioting or bitterly abusive speech; and the reform, which if taken in hand earlier would not have been too severe, is carried in a spirit of vindictive retaliation. Not only the

[1] At Manchester, Sept. 12, 1918.

Reform Bill of 1832, and the Chartist agitation, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws, were attended by much violence and party outcry. In later days we have the Hyde Park riot preceding the Second Reform Bill in 1867, the Fenian and the Home Rule troubles, the Bulgarian "atrocities" campaign in 1876, the Chinese Slavery "terminological inexactitude" in 1906, and the epidemic of strikes and conspiracies in the years before 1914.

In party politics the pendulum has swung between Whig and Tory, Liberal and Conservative, too much reform and not enough reform. One can hardly avoid the thought that each ministry has come into power in turn, not so much because of its own merits, as because the rival ministry made too many mistakes. There was a period of violence up to 1848; a period of quiet and prosperity and Free Trade —but of war in Russia and India—up to Palmerston's death in 1865; then a period of bitter rivalry between Gladstone and Disraeli; and after 1886 a rearrangement of parties, when Chamberlain and others came over as Liberal Unionists, and modern problems were brought up, Home Rule, Imperialism, Socialism, and Tariff Reform.

Material prosperity has been obvious. After the days when railways merely connected pairs of neighbouring towns, it was seen that they must all be connected with each other and with London and the ports, so that a dozen great companies now have their main lines and branches; comfort, especially in the penny-a-mile third class, has ever increased; sleepers and chairs have enabled the fastest trains to run smoothly. Macadamised roads have been a boon to districts off the railways, and farmers have benefited when cyclists first, and motorists afterwards, have compelled good construction. Progression in manufacture has been geometrical rather than arithmetical. Old machinery has had to be scrapped; new processes have substituted iron for wood, and in the nineties steel for iron, electricity for steam and gas. Steamers, at first slowly, have displaced sailing ships; much

of our trade, wool and corn and tea, was carried and sometimes still is carried in clippers. Screws have displaced paddles, and construction has been more of iron and steel than of wood. The Suez Canal was opened in the late sixties, and gradually was widened and deepened until it admitted boats of 12,000 tons, small indeed as these must seem to be in comparison with the transatlantic monsters. Water-tube boilers, turbines, and oil fuel, are the latest things at sea, and telegraphs, telephones, wireless, motors, and flying machines annihilate space by land and air. In the sixties as the result of Crimean experience a new iron-clad fleet with heavy iron guns was gradually built. Steel armour and steel guns distinguished the Majestic class of war-ships in the late nineties, and the Dreadnoughts and hyper-super-Dreadnoughts of to-day are but developments. Muzzle-loading rifles were first issued to all our infantry just before the Crimean war, breech-loaders after the Prussian victories of 1866, and magazine rifles in the nineties; field-artillery has been improved in proportion.

Chemistry and metallurgy have made very great strides. Vaccination is an old invention of Jenner, but won its way to recognition but slowly, for bad lymph used to be carelessly applied and gave excuse to the anti-vacs. Now since Pasteur's experiments in the eighties inoculation is conquering typhoid as well as small-pox. Indeed medical science and surgery moved very slowly when Victoria was young; but at last blood-letting as a cure for all diseases died out, and antiseptics and anaesthetics have come into common use. There is a better knowledge of the necessity of sanitation and ventilation, but in the fifties Chadwick was fighting hard for decent drainage, and even in the seventies the virtue of an open window was not acknowledged by all doctors or educated men.

Three Great Popular Movements. The old troubles were in 1837 as acute as ever, exclusion of workmen from a Parliamentary vote, evasion of the Factory Acts, low wages,

truck, undrained slums and chronic typhus, dear bread, riots and rick-burning at intervals, and, since 1833, hatred of the new Poor Law. Three sets of men were working, each on their own line, and mostly in opposition to each other.

The Chartists drew up the *People's Charter* of five points, and their idea was that there was no chance of redress until the workmen had power over Parliament. These were, Annual Parliaments, Payment of Members, Vote by Ballot, Universal Suffrage, No Property Qualification for Members; to which was added a sixth, Equal Electoral Districts. All but one are in force to-day, but they have been won gradually. The proposals, being sudden and accompanied by threats, seemed then to be revolutionary. There was a "moral force" section, who got up petitions and were snubbed by the Commons for their pains, and a "physical force" section, who tried to frighten the respectable classes by riots and were sternly repressed. The Whigs were in sympathy with neither. Lord John Russell, declaring his great act to be final, was dubbed "Finality Jack."

The Anti-Corn-Law League was founded, with head-quarters at Manchester, by Richard Cobden and John Bright, both of them manufacturers, who toured the country and made eloquent speeches about cheap bread. The ideal of the Manchester School was absolute freedom, no tax on foreign corn, no interference with factories, free competition to settle by the "law of supply and demand" both the price of bread and clothes and the rate of wages. They are known as "individualistic" radicals; every man free to do the best for himself, to buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest. It must be remembered that there was not then a very great amount of foreign corn to rival the home supply. The inland areas of North and South America and Russia had not yet been tapped by railways. In 1841 there were $7\frac{3}{4}$ millions of acres in England and Wales under the plough, half of them for wheat, and a population of 16 millions; in 1911 the figures were 6 millions of acres, less than one-

third for wheat, and a population of 36 millions[1]. Lord John favoured a fixed duty of 8*s*. a quarter to steady prices, for under the sliding scale prices went up and down very suddenly, especially as our climate is uncertain.

Corn was only part of the wide question of Free Trade. Huskisson and Peel had already reduced duties on some raw materials. Peel's great scheme in 1846 was going to deal with manufactured goods as well as corn. Gladstone was going to finish the work in the budgets of 1853 and 1860. Cobden himself was going personally to make a Free Trade treaty with Napoleon III in 1859. But at first the League was concerned only with corn, and the agitation was of townsmen and consumers against landowners and producers.

The *Philanthropist Reformers*, Lord Ashley, who became Earl of Shaftesbury in 1851, at their head, worked definitely on religious grounds. He was ever collecting new evidence of horrors in mines and factories. He attacked the "dismal science" of political economy which treats human beings as mere soulless machines making money for others; the law of Christ must break down the law of supply and demand. Therefore he wanted yet stronger Factory Acts. Education was also in his program, and the children saved from crushing labour were to be really taught; he was a patron of "ragged" and "night" schools, and of Sunday schools which had been started by Raikes in the 18th century, and which, he claimed, if they did not make the English a nation of angels, at least saved them from being all savages. He fought for the cause of temperance when there was not a tea-room in the whole of London[2]. He belonged to the evangelical, or Low Church, party; in the 18th century this was known as the Clapham sect, for the members were chiefly rich men living in that suburb, among them Wilberforce and others who attacked slavery and founded the Church Missionary and Bible

[1] In 1918, 7½ millions of acres, of which 2½ for wheat. *Times*, Aug. 29.

[2] Father Mathew of Cork was the first temperance crusader; his "pledge" campaign in 1838 was wonderfully successful.

Societies; in the 19th century Ashley and his friends extended missionary enterprise at home by means of the London City Mission.

Under both Whig and Tory rule the Church was not very active. Patronage gave bishoprics and high positions to political partisans, country rectories to relations and personal friends, for tithes brought in a good income when land was valuable. But a really keen movement was started at Oxford early in Victoria's reign, when Newman and Keble and Pusey wrote the *Tracts for the Times*. The Tractarians, or High Church party, or Ritualists, insisted on ceremonial as elaborate as that of Rome, vestments and fine church architecture, the sacraments of the Church as the sole means of grace. They also trained a new generation of clergy who went in among the people to fight dirt and vice with a new energy.

The various rival crusaders were in conflict with each other and did not try to understand each other. Excitement was at fever-height in 1846—47, when all sorts of imputations and accusations were slung about recklessly. Bright, as a pious Quaker, hated the idea that religion was all on Ashley's side; Ashley and his followers did not like Newman, who indeed went over to Rome. Tories and Whigs hardly knew which way to turn, so, when the crisis came, Lord John was jeered at for inconsistency and Peel was reviled for treachery to his party.

Early Victorian Men of Letters. A remarkable group of men, born within a few years of 1800, were writing and leading Public Opinion. They grew up in the midst of the turmoil of the agricultural and industrial revolutions, saw the seamy side of life, and tried to explain and suggest remedies for the evils around them. Here are evils; is this right? can we only repeat *laissez faire*? but is not State Control dangerous? They were all whole-heartedly earnest, though their views conflicted; and, like the politicians, they were too ready to denounce.

Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1800—59, famous already for his essays and his hot support of the bill of 1832, had an enormous influence because by his brilliant and uncompromising words he made history a living thing. His was the ideal of the Whigs of 1688, civil and religious freedom, but we have seen that he approved of interference to protect the factory children who were not free to help themselves. He sneered at the efforts of Frederick the Great to create industries in Prussia by benevolent despotism; something more than royal patronage, he said, was needed for the development of a Lyons or a Birmingham; but no one then could have foreseen the success of Hohenzollern interference which we know too well.

John Stuart Mill, 1806—73, was the logical reasoner who defended unrestricted Liberty against both aristocratic privilege and State Control. He took up Bentham's rule of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" as the sole test of where law should interfere. But he was intensely conceited, as if his own opinion alone counted in interpreting happiness, and also a dull writer, and thus his books have lost much of the influence that they once had.

Charles Darwin, 1809—82, took the scientific side. In the natural world there is a "struggle for existence" among animals and plants; the strongest adapt themselves to their surroundings, and the fittest survive. Herbert Spencer followed him by applying this theory to men and women; all must be free in this struggle, however cruel it may seem to be, and must compete freely with each other.

Thomas Carlyle, 1795—1881, Scot, philosopher, preacher from his study chair, steeped in German learning, rugged and contemptuous of others,—"thirty millions, mostly fools," —scorned all babble about rights and liberty. He hurled into the world a gospel of "work" and "duty." His ideal was not a world of idle rich, nor of traders who considered money to be the sole bond between man and man, nor of politicians who advertised a Reform Bill or a Charter as a

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"Morrison's pill" to cure all woes, but a silent and dutiful nation of workers who recognised as their hero-king the man of action. In contempt of shams he glorified Cromwell, Napoleon before he was corrupted by the false glitter of glory, Frederick the Great, and, later on, Bismarck. He forgot that every one of his heroes came to the front by war or revolution, and that to find a successor to a Cromwell was impossible. He lived to see the example of Napoleon tempting Napoleon III to copy him with disastrous results; and we have lived to see the modern Prussians appeal to his authority as justifying their love of the "mailed fist," their seizure of Alsace, and their brutal contempt of "a scrap of paper," for did not he applaud Frederick's contempt of the Pragmatic Sanction as "waste sheepskin"? In fact Carlyle's grand gospel of duty and work developed unconsciously into sheer glorification of brute strength.

Charles Dickens, 1812—70, was the Carlyle of fiction; he had similar tricks of writing, the same power of denunciation of shams and abuses and insincerity, the same hatred of babblers and profiteers. After a miserable childhood in the slums he painted the horrors of the under-world, the hideously cruel treatment of children in workhouse and school, the nightmare of the black country, foul debtors' prisons, wicked tricks of lawyers and iniquitous courts of law, and the evils of drink. His novels are sermons artfully disguised, but his strong geniality and sense of humour made him picture also the kindly and jolly people.

Charles Kingsley, 1819—75, country parson and apostle of manly muscular Christianity, had a similar influence, but is almost forgotten because his sermon-novels lacked the saving grace of humour. He fought against both *laissez faire* and Corn Laws, and had sympathy with Chartists and poachers, and especially with the poor sempstress or the tailor stitching all day long in a wretched garret for wretched pay. The pity of it is that Factory Acts do not reach such workers. The public may be touched for a time, as when

Hood wrote his *Song of the Shirt* in 1843, but soon forgets and continues to buy cheap clothing. Similarly everybody read *Ginx's Baby* in 1870, a short tale of squalor in a mean street with much satire on the jealousy between rival religious bodies. Besant's *Children of Gibeon* and *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* had more success in the eighties, and really did something for the east end of London.

Benjamin Disraeli, 1804—81, son of Isaac D'Israeli who had some reputation in literature, Spanish Jew by blood, is absolutely unique as a novelist-statesman; indeed he published two novels after he had been Prime Minister. In the early forties, before he won his prominent position in the Commons, he gave his views in *Coningsby* and *Sybil*. He hated alike the Whig oligarchy and the pseudo-Tories, and for the salvation of England looked to the younger generation, the party of "Young England" as they called themselves, who should mould themselves on the true Tory principles of Bolingbroke and the "Patriot King." His ideal was a Free Sovereign, a Free House of Lords really governing and not meekly surrendering to the Commons, a Free Church, a Free Peasantry as the country's pride. He denounced the selfish landlord and soul-grinding manufacturer, the profiteers of slum-dwellings and truckshops, every bit as hotly as Carlyle or Dickens; his words in *Sybil* ring quite true. But he has no remedy for poverty except charity on a gorgeous scale; and all his work is spoilt by the bitterness of his sarcasm, which was so pronounced that he became almost a slave to it.

John Ruskin, 1819—1900, saw the remedy in a sense of art. Railways and machinery made life more comfortable for some people, but more sordid and ugly for others, besides being bad for the nerves; there would be no hope for the nation until the workman was a free artist with a joy in beauty of work, not the hustled slave of capitalists and cog-wheels. His disciple, William Morris, became for this reason a revolutionary socialist. Both helped to make our homes more bright and artistic.

Victoria's First Parliament: Whigs. Lord Melbourne was Prime Minister 1837—41; Lord John was Home Secretary, and Palmerston was Foreign Secretary. *The Eastern Question* demanded attention, for Mohammed Ali of Egypt conquered Syria and aspired to be free from Turkey. Palmerston, like Wellington, wanted to maintain the Turkish Empire; unlike Wellington, he combined with Russia and Prussia and Austria so as to give to Russia no excuse to act alone. But France threatened to support Mohammed. Louis Philippe's Premier was Thiers, an historian, who wished to see France rally from her humiliation and show herself sufficiently glorious; she had already a footing in Algeria, and had always coveted Egypt. Would she then defy the Concert of Europe, so as to make French influence supreme in Egypt in defence of Mohammed? At the last moment Louis Philippe took fright and drew back from war. The British fleet bombarded *Acre* in 1840, and forced Mohammed to submit and evacuate Syria; consequently the French were very sore. The First Afghan war and the First Chinese war were now fought, the one to check Russian influence in Asia, the other to force western trade on China[1].

At home there were typical Chartist troubles. The "moral force" men presented a monster petition to the Commons, and were only treated with contempt. At once the "physical force" men broke out, rioted and looted shops in Birmingham, and marched in arms on Newport in Monmouthshire. The ringleaders were caught and sentenced, but the grievances were as bitter as ever, especially as there were just then several years of bad trade.

The Cabinet accepted in 1840 Rowland Hill's scheme of a *Penny Post*. The idea is that a very large number of prepaid letters at one penny would bring in more revenue than a smaller number at one shilling paid on delivery. But the first year's working resulted in the loss of one million. In

[1] See pp. 507—509.

fact money matters were serious, for Huskisson's free trade beginnings meant less duty paid at the ports, there was as yet no income-tax, and the yearly expenditure ran to 50 millions including the 3 per cent. interest on 800 millions of debt. There was a general opinion that the Whigs were not in earnest, were frightened at their own reforms, and cared only for place and power. Melbourne seemed, perhaps undeservedly, to be a trifler. He resigned, and a general election gave a Tory majority.

Victoria's Second Parliament: Tories. Sir Robert Peel was in power as our last Tory[1] Prime Minister with a definite mandate to "protect" home-grown corn and colonial free-grown sugar, and his ministry lasted from 1841 to 1846. He said definitely that we needed to "establish a security and insurance against those calamities which would ensue if we became, altogether or in great part, dependent upon foreign corn for our supply." No one can deny to-day that these were sane words. But both Whigs and Tories, maintaining the high duties so long, gave cause to the Anti-Corn-Law League to demand total repeal. The actual scale was a 20*s.* duty on each quarter of foreign wheat when the home-grown was at 51*s.*; British colonial sugar was taxed at 24*s.* the cwt., foreign free-grown at 34*s.*, slave-grown at 63*s.* For immediate needs he imposed our first income-tax at 7*d.* in the pound on all incomes over £150.

In the coming crisis it is above all important to remember that Peel, the accepted leader of the landowners and farmers, was the son of a manufacturer and by no means opposed to Free Trade itself. He had been with Huskisson in George IV's reign, and himself had abolished duties on several minor imports. For the same reason he disliked Factory Acts.

Yet in 1842 Ashley carried a *Collieries Act*. Such a mass of evidence was collected that even a Tory government let

[1] The word "Conservative" was in use, but was not yet generally accepted.

it pass, showing that if people know that horrors do exist they will listen to reason. It was mutilated by the Lords, but even so it excluded women and children under 13 from the mines; it partly modified a vile system of apprenticeship which was almost slavery. Then Sir James Graham, Peel's Home Secretary, and therefore acting with Peel's approval, produced a Factory Bill; but there were clauses providing for the education of factory children, and Roman Catholics and Dissenters and all who feared that the Church would control education were up in arms; so it was lost. A milder bill with no education clauses was carried in 1844, fixing 12 hours a day for women and boys, and 6½ hours for children. There was still much Chartist agitation.

The Irish question was now acute. Dan O'Connell was agitating for *Repeal of the Union*, but all accounts show that he carefully abstained from violence. Smith O'Brien, Protestant member for Limerick, pleaded earnestly in the Commons for discussion of Irish grievances. A Commission sat under Lord Devon, and took evidence on which a report was issued; the landlords were mostly alien by birth and race, descendants of the men put in by Cromwell or William III, often absentees, and heavily in debt through extravagance; tenant-farmers paid high rents and raised wheat and oats for the English market; the peasants paid heavier rents in proportion and lived on potatoes; Ireland cried out for capital to improve the land. These points cannot be disputed, and Disraeli's language was as strong as any other's[1]. But Peel did nothing, losing a golden chance to help Ireland while yet there was time. The second great Irish problem, that of religion, he did try to settle; but, when he increased from £9,000 to £20,000 the yearly grant to the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth, the Protestants shrieked; when he tried to found non-religious Universities, they were denounced as "godless." Then came the crash.

[1] "A starving people, an alien church, and an absentee aristocracy, is the Irish Question"; said by Disraeli in 1844.

The potato crop in Ireland was blighted in 1845, and peasants were faced by starvation, for, as usual, the wheat and oats were sent over to be sold in England. Food being needed Peel suddenly felt himself unable any longer to support the Corn Laws; but, having been put in power as a Protectionist, he hesitated. Lord John then wrote his "Edinburgh letter" proclaiming himself a Free Trader. Peel resigned, but Lord John, owing to a petty squabble among the Whigs, failed to form a ministry. Thus it was necessary for Peel to take the reins again and propose Repeal, though it required considerable courage to go back on his past. In 1846 he put forward a large general scheme of Free Trade; duties, on the one hand, were to be remitted on many manufactured and semi-manufactured articles, and the sliding scale for corn, on the other, was to be reduced progressively until a nominal 1*s.* a quarter remained. His point was to induce Cobden and the manufacturers to accept the first part by granting to them the second; at the same time the farmers, losing the tax on foreign corn, would find compensation when other things were cheaper. Thus he did not entirely "surrender" to Cobden and the League.

Parties were strangely mixed, especially as Ashley's Factory Bill came up at the same time. In 1846 debates on Free Trade, distress in Ireland, and the Ten Hours, were held in rotation, and sarcasms and insinuations flew about thickly. Lord John and most of the Whigs, Macaulay among them, were denounced by Disraeli because of their sudden conversion to Repeal, and by Bright because of their conversion to Interference. A fair number of Tories, Wellington in the Lords and Ashley[1] in the Commons, followed Peel because he was Peel, and Disraeli let loose his merciless tongue on them for their "betrayal" of their former con-

[1] Ashley, returned in 1841 as a protectionist Tory, resigned his seat in 1846. Therefore the Ten Hours Bill was fathered in the Commons by Fielden, the radical manufacturer M.P. for Oldham.

victions. A solid block of Tories, almost all of them country gentlemen, led by Lord George Bentinck, hotly opposed repeal, and applauded Disraeli. But these same men spoke for Ashley's bill, and then Bright denounced them for interfering with freedom in factories out of mere spite; they retaliated by accusing him of wishing to cheapen bread and ruin the farmers in order to have an excuse to pay lower wages to mill-hands.

Disraeli was now no longer the somewhat eccentric novelist who a few years back had been laughed down in the House. He was a recognised leader of the Tory stalwarts who badly needed his tongue, and it is very much to his honour that in his *Life of Lord George Bentinck* he suppresses himself and gives all the glory to his chief[1]. His peculiar bitterness against Peel has never been explained, and all Peel's supporters resented it very much. But his and Bentinck's main arguments are quite clear; why introduce this tremendously revolutionary measure on the excuse that Ireland is starving? why not first relieve Ireland, and discuss Free Trade later? if relief is urgent, why reduce the sliding scale progressively? how can the remission of the duty on leather help Ireland? and, in particular, do not the small Irish farmers, the 30 acres men, need the protective duty against foreign corn so that they may sell theirs profitably in England?

Peel carried his bill by the votes of the few Tories who followed him, the Whigs, and the Cobdenites. Wellington got the Tory Lords to agree. Almost at once a combination of Whigs with Bentinck's angry Tory section outvoted him on a Coercion Bill for Ireland. He resigned, and not long afterwards died after a fall from his horse. Lord John formed a Whig ministry July 1846.

The Corn Laws were repealed, and we return to our

[1] Curiously enough, Bentinck belonged to an old oligarch Whig family of Dutch origin—founded by William III's personal friend, the Duke of Portland—such as Disraeli loathed.

previous argument that there was not a vast amount of foreign corn immediately available, consequently the farmers were not ruined. Farming more keenly and scientifically, learning the chemistry of soils and manures, helped by the experiments of the newly founded Royal Agricultural Society, they did not need the artificial tax. Corn fetched very fair prices for another thirty years to come, and in the eighties and nineties, the years of actual ruin, their descendants looked back to the fifties and sixties as a period of real prosperity in agriculture. Similarly free trade in manufactured goods did not at once ruin the manufacturers.

As for Ireland it is best to cut short the sad tale of starvation in spite of frantic attempts to open soup-kitchens and provide food,—yet Disraeli bitterly observed how in 1846 Irish corn was sent over as usual to England to pay the rent,—of congested workhouses, fevers following on starvation, unsuccessful efforts to create work, outbursts of crime, a Coercion Bill, and emigration on a large scale to America. The census figure for 1841 is 8,175,124 souls, and for 1851 it is 6,552,385; how far this drop of over $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions was caused by death and how far by emigration no man knows; afterwards the average ten-years drop by emigration alone has been one-third of a million. But the worst thing was the system of "clearances," when many landlords, mostly absentees, took advantage of the misery to evict the small farmers so that they might more easily get their rent from a few large farms.

Victoria's Third Parliament: Whigs[1]. Lord John was Prime Minister from 1846 to 1852, and up to 1851 Palmerston was Foreign Secretary. The contrast between the two was very striking. Son of an historic Whig house, yet not an oligarch of the old type, John had moved with the times as a reformer; but he had seen his best days, and in

[1] The word "Liberal" was used, but not yet for the party. It was first used abroad in contempt of the liberty-loving Italians and Spaniards; see p. 469.

his rather prim conceit he thought that the nation should have been satisfied with what he had done in 1832. Henry Temple, Viscount Palmerston, an Irish peer and therefore eligible to sit in the Commons, had held minor offices as a Tory under Lord Liverpool, had become a Canningite, then a Whig and Foreign Secretary 1830—41. Self-confident and jaunty, familiarly known as Pam, he often spoke as if he were alone competent to speak for the Cabinet. Owing to this impetuosity he was thought by foreigners to be a dangerous revolutionary. He was the friend of small free nations, Belgium and Portugal, if it suited British interests to befriend them; but was ready to hector the Greeks or Chinese or Japanese. And he always maintained the Turkish Empire. Lord John was often feeble at a crisis. Palmerston was the braver and therefore much the more popular, but no one could foresee his next step.

The *Ten Hours Factory Act*, brought up during Peel's ministry, was passed in 1847 during Lord John's. A mixed majority of all parties voted for it, and up to the end there were accusations and insinuations of insincerity and spite and inconsistency, as we have already seen. Bright was as bitter as ever, and said that "it was one of the worst measures ever passed." But Graham, and Mr Roebuck who was a very strong radical opponent of it, confessed a dozen years later that its results were excellent. The manufacturers were not ruined, and the workmen in a 55-hours' week did more and better work because they "conserved their energy." It was the final act on the subject because it definitely settled the right of Parliament to interfere, but various amendments have been made to it by both Liberals and Conservatives up to our own days. It has been extended to all kinds of works and workshops, to the potteries of Staffordshire, to tailors' establishments, and so on. New regulations have been added to enforce healthy conditions and to decrease accidents. Also various Truck Acts have been passed, the final and decisive one in 1887.

Lord John followed up Peel's Free Trade scheme by a total repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849.

The Year of Revolution in Europe. Ever since 1815 there had been much discontent and brooding, conspiracies and feeble outbreaks; 1848 saw widespread revolution everywhere. But the causes were not the same in all countries. In France the workmen of the cities, stirred by their socialist writers even as the men of 1789 by Rousseau, set up a Republic and demanded the "right to work"; but they were overthrown finally by the middle classes and peasants, who had got what they wanted in 1789 and feared confiscation. In Italy was a national movement against Austrian tyranny, and failure came through lack of union. Hungary was bitterly opposed both to Austria and to the Slavs of Croatia. In Vienna and Berlin were city risings of workmen, university students and professors, and middle classes, against a haughty military aristocracy. An attempt was made to create a real German Confederation and came to nothing. The Prussian monarchy and aristocracy triumphed over Berlin; the young Emperor Francis Joseph with the help of his loyal Tyrolese and Croats triumphed over Vienna, crushed the heart out of Italy, and next year with the help of Russia crushed Hungary[1].

The greatest event of 1849 was the revolt of the Roman Republic against Pope Pius IX. Rome held out heroically under Garibaldi, but was stormed by French troops. France indeed had then her Second Republic, but Louis Napoleon was President and relied on the Roman Catholics against the "reds." In 1851 he brought off his *coup d'état*, and in 1852 took the title of the Emperor Napoleon III as heir to his great uncle.

Many Englishmen and Englishwomen felt sympathy,

[1] And in his old age as the servile vassal of Prussia used Hungary against his own Slav subjects and the Slavs of the Balkans and Russia.

even warm admiration, for Italians and Hungarians struggling to be free. But the majority thought of the old Jacobin "reign of terror" of 1792—94, and disapproved of Revolution as something different from our own national method of settling wrongs by Parliament. Russell and Palmerston were probably right in their policy of "non-intervention," on the principle of "who would be free themselves must strike the blow." But, when the Hungarian Kossuth came to England as *le grand vaincu*, Palmerston welcomed him too carelessly and warmly, thereby offending the Austrians and Russians. On the other hand he forcibly demanded satisfaction from Greece for some insult offered to a British subject.

In 1848 the Chartists made their last move by organising a great crowd to escort a monster petition to Westminster. But soldiers and guns were in readiness under Wellington, special constables were enrolled from the upper and middle classes, the mob was discouraged by rain and melted away, and the petition was found to be signed by many people writing their names several times or silly names. Chartism was killed indeed, but neither by force nor by ridicule. Free Trade and cheaper bread, a better feeling towards the workmen, the Factory Acts, and a period of considerable prosperity in trade and commerce, all helped to lessen discontent; and therefore, when there was no need for violence, the movement collapsed.

The general content and prosperity were expressed by the *Great Exhibition* of 1851, when Paxton's glass house was erected in Hyde Park to advertise our products and machinery to an admiring world; it was afterwards re-erected at Sydenham as the Crystal Palace. When we talk of the "Great Exhibition Year" we mean that the hopes of the nation were that we should lead the world in the works of civilisation and peace, that we should manufacture for the world and receive in return the raw material, and that wars would cease. It was a noble aspiration; prosperity does

help to promote content among the less favoured people, if it enables "a poor old woman to put two lumps into her tea where she used to put one." Yet there was a touch of somewhat smug self-satisfaction in it, as it implied that we were perfect as a nation of shopkeepers, making an idol of money, glorifying competition in trade, despising other nations, but neglecting our means of defence as if there never would be any more competition in war. This feeling, together with our knack of partly sympathising with the struggles for freedom abroad, yet without actively interfering, and partly looking down upon the poor foreigner, earned for us an unfair reputation for hypocrisy and made us unpopular abroad.

When Louis Napoleon made his *coup d'état* in 1851 Palmerston expressed his lordly approval. But, violating the strong unwritten custom of Cabinet responsibility, he never consulted the Prime Minister, nor the Queen nor the Prince Consort[1]. So he had to resign. But Napoleon III appeared to be dangerous, as if he wished to avenge Waterloo. Lord John brought up a feeble Militia Bill to strengthen our absurdly small army; Palmerston opposed it, and got his "tit-for-tat" when the Commons threw it out. Then Lord John resigned.

The first Derby-Disraeli ministry sat in 1852 for rather less than a year. Lord Derby was Prime Minister, and Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer. They were avowed Protectionists, yet dared not introduce a new Corn Law, and a coalition of Whigs and Peelites upset them. Then was formed the *Coalition Ministry*; Lord Aberdeen was Prime Minister, and Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, representing the Peelites, i.e. Conservative Free Traders; Lord John for a short time was Foreign Secre-

[1] This is amusingly described by Justin McCarthy's *History of our own Times*. He is brilliant and interesting in the Macaulay style, but young students are to be warned that he is superficial and rarely understands the deep underlying causes of policy.

tary, and Palmerston was Home Secretary, representing the Whigs. But, as Disraeli said, "England does not love Coalitions."

Colonial Expansion and Government. This is a good place in which to take a survey of the British Empire. Between 1800 and 1850 an immense amount of territory was being annexed. Some colonies were rising in importance, others declining; India, for instance, was outstripping the West Indies as a source of wealth. The question of self-government was arising, and colonists frequently denounced the interference in their own affairs of Downing Street and Exeter Hall[1]. A vexed question everywhere was the proper treatment of natives or aborigines[2], supported as they often were by the home government and missionaries against the colonists. Now we must acknowledge that Downing Street does not always understand the best way of dealing with distant lands, yet is in a difficult position as having to consider the good of the whole empire, whereas the colonists often think only of their own particular colony and not of their neighbours. Therefore, when there are troubles between colony and colony as on the question of coolie labour, between colonists and aborigines, between the mother country when our policy has been based, let us say, on the needs of India and some colony which cares nothing about India, Downing Street alone can decide, yet is sure to give offence somewhere. Then arises some wild talk about "cutting the painter" like the Americans in 1776. Downing Street may decide on arbitration to settle a dispute with a foreign country, let us say the United States; then Canada complains of being betrayed. Yet both navy and army were maintained entirely by the mother country, and never

[1] The Prime Minister lives at No. 10 Downing Street, which leads out of Whitehall. Exeter Hall, in the Strand, was the headquarters of missionary societies.

[2] In India "natives" are Indians; in Australia "natives" are whites born out there, and the blacks are "aborigines."

has there been any failure to support by arms and at our own cost any of our kinsfolk who have been wronged.

Up to 1833 the *West Indies* were certainly the richest, flourishing on sugar and slavery. The abolition of slavery hurt the cane-planters very much, for it was expensive to grow free sugar when the negroes were paid well and worked badly, and even the high tax put on slave sugar from Spanish and Portuguese islands did not keep it out of the British market. But the serious decline did not occur till the eighties and nineties, when beet sugar was so greatly improved as almost to kill the cane industry. Also the West Indies were less important as naval stations since our complete triumph over the French by sea.

In *Canada* there has been no negro question and comparatively little trouble with redskins. The problem has been to find out how the French of Quebec can live amicably alongside the British loyalists of Ontario, who migrated in 1783 from the United States so as to be under our flag. The French had no love for the U.S., but they revolted in 1837 from dislike of British immigrants. They were pacified, and then Lord Durham proposed a scheme of incorporation which was accepted in 1840. Lord Elgin, when Governor, recognised self-government in 1848 by declaring himself responsible to Canada for purely Canadian matters. Meanwhile French Nova Scotia and British New Brunswick were separate colonies, and also obtained self-government in 1848, and Newfoundland a little later. The chief trouble now was commercial. Up to 1846 while protection was in force Canadian wheat and timber had a preference in the English market, but, after Peel's great scheme of Free Trade, were on a level with the wheat and timber of the United States. Consequently there was a good deal of talk against the mother country, even talk of union with the U.S., and Lord Elgin sanctioned a treaty of "reciprocity" with the U.S. But Canadian bitterness was much softened by the repeal of our Navigation Acts in 1849.

The Pacific coast and the island of Vancouver were British, thanks to Pitt's firmness in 1790[1]. The Hudson Bay Company—founded in Charles II's reign under the patronage of Rupert—controlled by its posts and forts all the vast middle lands of the interior and the west. In 1858 the Crown took over British Columbia and Vancouver from the Company, and combined them as a Crown Colony. There were disputes between the Crown and the U.S. as to the boundary, and the line 49° was fixed from the Lake of the Woods to Vancouver; the recognised law of expansion is that the nation which holds land to the east and west has the right to the interior[2]. There was also a dispute as to the boundary between Quebec and Maine, which Canadians complained was drawn much too far north in favour of the U.S. When we next return to Canada we shall find her ready for railways and confederation.

In *South Africa* there was the same problem, how to treat settlers of European descent, but with the additional trouble of slavery and the presence of fierce tribes of natives close at hand. The Boer farmers of Cape Colony, who had lost all their national love of the sea, were annexed finally to the British Empire in 1814; they lost their local self-government, saw their language ousted from their law-courts, and after 1833 had to give up their Hottentot slaves for very paltry compensation, they said, and that obtained only after much trouble. They hated the imputation that having slaves they were therefore cruel tyrants, and especially disliked

[1] The affair of Nootka Sound, see p. 409. The point at issue was this; a nation, Spain, which has discovered but not effectively occupied a piece of coast, has no right to interfere when another nation, Great Britain, occupies.

[2] There is a similar instance in Africa. The Portuguese had the right to occupy the interior as they held for centuries the east and west coasts. But they failed to occupy; therefore both Boers and British had the right to penetrate inland from the south. In this connection the word "right" is used as implying an international agreement; it seems, unfortunately, to imply also that the natives have no right to their own lands.

missionaries who looked upon blacks as equals. An able English governor, Benjamin D'Urban, who gave his name to the first settlement in Natal and fought against the warlike Kaffirs, was recalled by the home government in 1836 because of the outcry of the religious societies against his severity. Therefore, with both Exeter Hall and Downing Street abolishing slavery and refusing protection against savages, many Boers trekked off to found new settlements beyond the Orange river and in Natal, taking their cattle and families with them. They had to fight against the Basutos, the Matabele, and in particular the Zulus, a tribe not only warlike but also organised. Often the Zulus had the upper hand and massacred small bodies of Boers, but in 1838 the Boers formed laager with their waggons and shot down the hordes of their worst enemy, the chief Dingaan. Next the British re-occupied Durban and annexed *Natal*. In reply the Boers trekked once more in 1846 and 1847, and across the Vaal they founded the South African Republic, usually known as the *Transvaal*. For a short time also the British annexed the Orange settlement, but finally restored it as the *Orange Free State* in 1854.

There can be little doubt that our government made many mistakes throughout this period, especially in recalling D'Urban in 1836, and Harry Smith[1] similarly in 1852. No steady policy was followed as regards either Boers or Kaffirs and Zulus. These two governors knew how necessary it was first to conquer thoroughly and then to govern justly. But a false sentimentality prevailed; and in each case a good and straightforward soldier, thought to be unnecessarily

[1] Harry Smith was a dashing young staff-officer under Wellington. At the siege of Badajoz he saved a beautiful Spanish girl from the fury of some drunken soldiers, and a fortnight later he married her. She went through all his wars with him. He was twice at the Cape, and in the interval won a battle against the Sikhs at Aliwal. Harrismith, Ladysmith, and Aliwal North, are his memorial in Africa. Recalled by popular clamour he retired from the army, and therefore his services were lost to the nation just when he was at his prime and would have been an ideal leader for the Crimea.

cruel, was disgraced. The result was that the Boers were made angry and suspicious, yet in the period up to 1880 Kaffir and Zulu wars were always occurring.

Australia, rediscovered and claimed as British by Captain Cook in 1770, received its first settlement in 1788 under Captain Phillip who chose the name of *Sydney* for it; the sole reason of the settlement was that the home government, having lost the American colonies, needed a land to which to send convicted criminals. *New South Wales* was thus, at first, simply a penal settlement. Then arose the need to find lands for corn and pasture, and the history of Australia is one long tale of exploration inland and along the coast. Free settlers, added to the descendants of the soldier-guards and the convicts, helped to swell the population. The Blue Mountains were crossed, and the Macquarie river district was named after an enterprising governor. *Tasmania* was next occupied as a convict settlement; and then Moreton Bay, the nucleus to the present *Queensland*, where the founder gave his name to *Brisbane*, and a later governor gave his to the *Darling Downs* whose stretches of grass-lands were ready to receive free sheep-farmers. South Australia's chief town *Adelaide* gives us a date, for this was the name of William IV's queen; and the district of Port Phillip, renamed *Victoria*, and its chief town *Melbourne*, bring us to 1837. But Sydney was as yet the centre of government, and each early governor was responsible only to the Crown.

The rest of the history is a matter of continual development as more and more land was taken up for sheep-runs. In 1848 began the gold rush which gave an enormous increase of population to Victoria. In 1840 the colony was important and strong enough to refuse to allow convicts to be landed. In 1842 were laid the foundations of partial self-government for New South Wales; her daughters were separated from her and became independent colonies, Victoria in 1851 and Queensland in 1859. The final step in self-government was

taken in 1855, when all ministers and officials were made fully responsible to colonial Parliaments on the home model[1]. But West Australia was still willing, and even desirous, to receive convicts, and was not self-governed till much later. The future of Australia in the last half of the 19th century, as of Canada, depended on the further opening out of the interior, on railways, and on confederation.

In *New Zealand* there have been no convicts and no rush to find gold, but there has been a serious question of the treatment of aborigines, the manly and almost civilised Maoris of the North Island. The earliest British settlers were typical outlaws, such as have too often disgraced our name in various parts of the Pacific. Permanent annexation dates from 1839, and then began a struggle between a New Zealand Company and the Crown officials as to the rights of the Maoris; the colonists wished to treat them as niggers and take their lands, the officials protected them and recognised their customs of land-tenure. There were wars and regular British regiments were employed, but the Maoris constantly had the upper hand, defending their forts and then decamping into the bush in true guerilla style. Luckily the ablest of many able governors, Sir George Grey, 1845—53, administered the land-laws in a sympathetic spirit and stopped war. In the South Island there was no trouble with aborigines; successful settlements were planted by Scots Presbyterians at Dunedin, and by English Churchmen at Canterbury. Self-government was granted in 1852.

Fifty Years of Indian History. When Wellesley, the Great Proconsul, left India in 1805 (see p. 416) because both Company and Cabinet feared annexation and the consequent expense, the Mahratta chieftains were weakened but not overpowered. There must be a dominant power in India to stop war and to give protection. The Mogul Empire had been shattered, yet our rulers refused to take up the task.

[1] Two Chambers; but the Upper Chamber elected by the colony as a whole, not hereditary or the gift of the Crown as at home.

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Consequently the Mahrattas began to recover, and lawless tribes called by the general name of Pindaris fought and devastated India, and even raided into the British annexed districts. But in 1813 arrived in India a very able soldier Governor General, the Marquis of Hastings, for whom no command could be found in Europe for the sole reason, it seems, that he was a Whig. He intended at first to pursue a peace policy, but war was simply forced on him by the general lawlessness. He raised in 1817—19 very large armies and swept through India, broke the Mahrattas finally as well as the Pindaris, annexed a great deal of land in the centre and inland from Bombay to include *Poona*, and thus completed the unfinished work of Wellesley to the great benefit of the peaceful peasants of India.

The marquis was also an able ruler in years of peace, for India was generally quiet for the next twenty years. After him a great work was done by Lord William Bentinck, who largely suppressed the Thugs, a class of professional murderers; abolished Suttee, the burning of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres; enabled natives to enter government employ, and regulated the land-system and taxation. In 1833 the East India Company ceased to trade on its own account and was simply a governing body.

The *First Afghan War* was one long ghastly blunder. In 1838 it was decided to dethrone Dost Mohammed, the Amir, as being too friendly with the Russians, who were, however, miles away. An expedition from Bombay fought through the Bolan Pass by way of Kandahar to Kabul, another came across from the upper Jumna. The Amir was deposed, and in December 1841 only one brigade remained to hold Kabul. An invalid general, a conceited political officer who knew nothing, a bad military position overlooked by hills, a wild rising of fanatical Mohammedan tribesmen, evacuation under promise of escort by Akbar Khan, Dost Mohammed's son, bitter weather and deep snow, surrender as hostages to Akbar of all the senior and staff

officers, the women and children, and finally the massacre in the passes[1] of some 700 British and 3,500 sepoy troops with countless camp-followers,—it is a well-known story. But the "illustrious garrison" of Jellalabad held out well against Akbar. An avenging column under General Pollock forced the Khyber Pass and relieved Jellalabad in April 1842. Pollock, together with General Nott from Kandahar, reached Kabul in September, burnt the bazaar as an act of reprisal, restored Dost Mohammed, and evacuated the country[2].

Two points are often omitted in the story. All the hostages were recovered by the pluck and daring of one of their number, young Eldred Pottinger. Dost Mohammed lived on as Amir to be our best friend, so that the Russian scare was quite unnecessary.

The warlike races lying between British India and Afghanistan were much excited, for our military prestige was shaken. Charles Napier, an old Peninsula man and elder brother of the historian, had to be sent to suppress the Baluchi rulers of the lower Indus in 1843; he won the very stiff battle of *Miani*, and annexed *Scinde*. *Peccavi* was his despatch.

The Sikhs of the Punjab were a fighting race organised by Ranjit Sing, on whose death they took control themselves and defied our raj. Our Governor General in 1845 was Henry Hardinge, a Peninsula man, and he was forced to take command when our army was at first held up. As Hardinge was awaiting reinforcements and heavy guns, Harry Smith smartly countered a Sikh flank attack at *Aliwal*. Then the reinforced British and sepoys stormed the Sikh entrenchments at *Sobraon* on the river Sutlej, and drove the enemy into the river. A second war was

[1] Wrongly called the "massacre of the Khyber Pass," which is east of Jellalabad towards Peshawur.

[2] The best account without any touches of fiction is Maud Diver's *The Great Adventure*; it is written from the diaries and descriptions of those who went through it all.

fought in 1848—49, Lord Dalhousie being Governor General. The *Punjab* was then annexed, and under the clever rule of Henry and John Lawrence in turn the Sikhs were loyal.

Dalhousie also annexed *Oude*, a very badly governed country, and transferred Henry Lawrence to regulate it; also a good deal of lower *Burma*; and *Jhansi* and *Nagpur*, which he decided that the adopted children of previous rulers had no right to inherit.

The East India Company, ceasing in 1833 to be a trading concern, retained however a monopoly of poppy-growing and opium-export. Also private traders demanded an outlet. The best market would be China, but the Chinese were very jealous of westerners. War resulted in 1840; *Hong Kong* was annexed, and five treaty ports were opened including Canton and Shanghai. At the same date Mr Brooke obtained a private grant from a native chief in *North Borneo*, where he was recognised by our government and ruled with honour and success as Rajah Brooke. *Aden* had been occupied in 1838; but was of little importance as yet because the highway to India was by the Cape.

Great Britain and France Allied. Tsar Nicholas I, strongly attached to our nation as his brother's old ally, proposed a partition of the Turkish Empire, as the Sultan was "the sick man of Europe"; we should occupy Crete and Egypt, and leave him free in the Balkans. Lord Aberdeen's *Coalition Ministry* could not agree, for Nicholas was the autocrat of the Holy Alliance; but no clear effort was made to put our views before him. Meanwhile Napoleon III declared "L'Empire, c'est la paix"; but, owing his throne to his army and ambitious to be a worthy nephew to his uncle, he seized an opportunity to avenge Moscow rather than Waterloo.

The immediate cause of the *Crimean War* seems to be trivial. The Greek and the Roman Catholic monks at Jerusalem had often squabbled as to who should have the keys of the Holy Places. The Tsar of course supported the

Greeks, and suddenly Napoleon decided to support the Roman Catholics as an excuse to re-establish French influence in the East. Neither the Tsar nor the British expected war, so it is true that Napoleon dragged us in. Yet

Statues of the three Cannings in Westminster Abbey, north transept (statesmen's corner). To left, George Canning, Premier: in centre, Lord Canning, son, Governor General during the Mutiny: to right, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, cousin, ambassador at Constantinople.

Palmerston, our Home Secretary, who still had very great influence in foreign affairs, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, our ambassador at Constantinople and a cousin of George

Canning, deliberately pushed us in. The idea of an *entente cordiale* with France was distinctly to the good, because an hereditary enmity is always absurd, and it was wrong to refuse to help Mohammedan Turks while our Queen had millions of Mohammedan subjects in India. But it also seems that our grandfathers were suddenly ashamed of the peace aspirations of the Great Exhibition Year; were we to be always a nation of shopkeepers, and should we not show that we could fight as well as of old, though against a different enemy?

Russian armies advanced to the Danube to overawe the Turks. A French and a British army were sent to the Black Sea and landed on the Bulgarian coast at Varna. Then Francis Joseph interfered, and with "amazing ingratitude" ordered the Russians away from the Danube. But Napoleon and Aberdeen required a guarantee that they would not return, and sent the armies to the Crimea to take Sebastopol, the one great arsenal and naval base of South Russia. It was getting late in the year, cholera was raging in both armies, the climate of the Crimea and the strength of the enemy were alike unknown, and in fact it was a leap in the dark made to satisfy the clamour of each nation for war. But it was made, and the landing took place some 30 miles north of Sebastopol in the September of 1854. Each of the Allied armies was less than 30,000 strong, ours being under Lord Raglan, an old officer of Wellington who had seen no service since 1815, the French under Saint Arnaud who died soon after and was succeeded by Canrobert.

Advancing southward they found the Russians defending a slope behind the *river Alma* where the high road crossed it at right angles. On September 20 the British assaulted in the old two-deep formation of Wellington's days; our methods had never changed, but, since his death, all our infantry had been re-armed with muzzle-loading rifles. They were repulsed, but came on again and again with the bayonet, until the French, nearer to the sea and delayed by the steep

cliff in front of them, were beginning to come into action. Then the Russians fell back.

Perhaps the Allies might have rushed the northern defences, but they circled round and occupied an upland to the south of the harbour where lay the main fortress. The British took the right attack with base at Balaclava, the French the left. The main Russian army retired inland across the river Tchernaya, while Todleben commanded a strong garrison and thousands of sailors and workmen, threw up new defences, sunk his ships to block the harbour mouth, and had free access to the north bank by a bridge. Thus there was no *siege of Sebastopol* in the proper sense, for the Allies attacked only one face. The heavy guns arrived and there was a bombardment, but Todleben rebuilt whatever was knocked down. The Allied wooden ships were quite powerless against his stone forts[1].

On October 25 the Russian outside army crossed the Tchernaya to seize *Balaclava* and so to starve out our army on the upland. Colin Campbell, with "the thin red line" of the 93rd, held up their dense masses of cavalry; our heavy brigade rode through them in the really serious charge of the day; and later our light brigade charged. Balaclava was saved, but our lines had to be contracted, and the Russians established themselves south of the river.

On November 5 in a thick mist at dawn infantry from the fortress and from outside attacked our right on the heights of *Inkerman* at the north point of the upland. They came on in such dense masses as to hinder themselves, and were, though with difficulty, hurled back by our reserves and French aid.

Then came the great storm of rain which converted the upland into a sea of mud. There could be no attempt to continue the attack, for stores and food could hardly be moved uphill from Balaclava and the baggage animals were dying or dead. The horrors of the winter, starvation, disease,

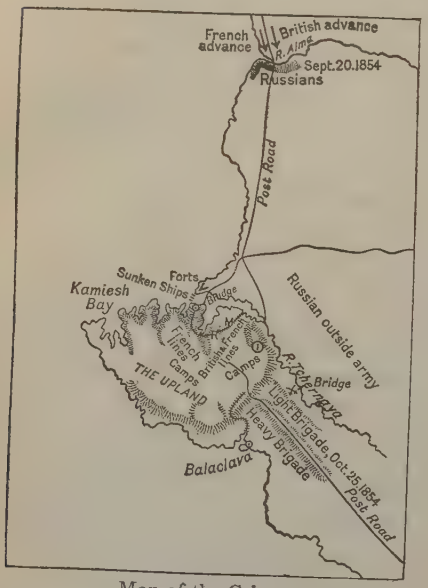
[1] Also in the Baltic our fleet was powerless against Kronstadt.

lack of clothing and drugs, loss of stores from a gale at sea, frost and snow in the trenches varied by mud after a thaw, utter inability to help the sick and wounded, congestion at Balaclava when the stores did arrive but could not be distributed for want of animals,—the awful story is only too well known. Miss Nightingale arrived in November at the hospital at Scutari on the Asiatic shore opposite Constantinople, but it was some little time before she and others could get things straight, and in the meanwhile the sick suffered tortures before they could reach Scutari. But the grit and determination of Lord Raglan under the circumstances were beyond praise. Slow as he was in battle, he had a fund of quiet energy which enabled him to "stick it" himself and to appeal to the men to "stick it" in the trenches. He also was very tactful towards the French when a word from him would have determined Canrobert to give up the siege. In January 1855 a storm of excitement at home compelled Lord Aberdeen to resign, and a new Cabinet was formed by the energetic Palmerston.

Our nation is always very liberal of blame. Yet it was not the fault of the Allied generals, for they had simply obeyed orders when they landed in the unknown, and had not had a sufficient force at first to take the place. When a nation refuses in peace to keep up a sufficient army, grudges money for manœuvres and training, cuts down supplies which alone can make a field force efficient, and insinuates that a standing army merely exists for the benefit of the upper classes to fire upon rioters and strikers, it has only itself to thank when that army, starved by economy and jeered at, is not immediately victorious.

The French, being nearer to their base at Kamiesh bay, suffered less; being also nearer to home and having large reserves, they were reinforced in the spring of 1855 up to 75,000 and in the summer to 100,000. Our numbers fell at the worst to below 10,000, and all efforts failed at first to raise them to more than 30,000. The services of the Turks

were not properly utilised; but Victor Emanuel of Savoy and Sardinia, to put the Allies under an obligation, sent 15,000 Italians to the war; and for the last time in our history we raised mercenaries from Germany. The French now took over the right of the attack as well as the left, leaving to the British the right centre; also there were enough French and Italians to drive the Russians again



Map of the Crimea

beyond the Tchernaya. But Canrobert was much worried by Napoleon's orders, for this was the first war in which the field army was tied to the home capitals by cable. Some people thought, and persuaded Napoleon, that the siege should be abandoned and the armies sent to the Isthmus to cut the Crimea off from supplies and reinforcements. However Raglan persisted. Canrobert was replaced by

Pélissier, a strong and fiery man of Algerian experience, who clung to the siege. The position, though on a small scale, resembled the present one, British troops with French on each flank committed to a frontal attack, Italians in alliance, and the war made possible by Sea Power alone. Also throughout 1855, as in 1915, we were raising and at once putting into the field new troops when our seasoned first-line men were used up, so that we seemed condemned to "muddle through somehow"; this is an unlucky phrase for a serious statesman to use, for it makes thoughtless people disinclined to do anything else. More plentiful stores and the construction of a railway from Balaclava to the upland lightened our men's lot. The Russians suffered much more, for their reinforcements had to tramp hundreds of miles, and vast numbers died on the way; moreover they were so crowded in their lines that they lost great numbers from the Allied fire.

Pélissier and Raglan bombarded fiercely in the summer, while Todleben still dug and built. On Waterloo day, June 18, a grand assault failed. Then Raglan died worn out. If his successors did not do any better, the fault was Palmerston's for not appointing Colin Campbell or calling up Harry Smith from half-pay. At last on September 8, after a more intensive bombardment, the French stormed and held the great *Malakoff* fort; but the British on storming the *Redan* found it open to the rear, as the Malakoff was not, and were driven out again. Todleben was wounded, and ordered Sebastopol to be evacuated in the night.

There were no horrors in the winter of 1855—56. Next year the French numbered 125,000, but they were suffering badly from fevers and were at the end of their reserves; the British were 55,000 and far more fit in comparison. But Napoleon had the chief word; he had his honour and glory, for his army had taken the place and ours had not. So a conference was called to Paris, where Victor Emanuel for the first time was admitted to the Concert of Europe.

By the *Treaty of Paris* neither the Tsar nor the Sultan was to maintain ships-of-war or have any place-of-arms on the Black Sea; Rumania was to be independent; and the Danube was to be free, and its mouth put under international control. The result seems to be feeble; yet Russia was much exhausted for a dozen years to come. The total cost to us was 77½ millions, the income-tax was up to 1*s.* 4*d.*, and we had a new hereditary enmity; but there was no guarantee that the Turk would reform, or even try to reform, as Palmerston fondly believed.

The great Sepoy Mutiny. The chief conspirators who brought about the mutiny certainly thought that our army had been beaten in the Crimea, that having nearly drained India of white troops we had no more to send. Yet there were many contributory causes. The native mind remembered the Afghan massacre and the stubborn Sikh resistance, and thought that we had lost our old invincible superiority to orientals. The reforms of Lord Dalhousie, a most able Governor General but a new broom that swept too hard and clean; his construction of the first railways in India, which seemed to be designed to break the caste of Hindus; his annexations of the Punjab and Oude, Nagpur and Jhansi, which frightened other independent rajahs; his refusal to allow Nana Sahib to succeed to the title and pension of the chief who had adopted him, thus converting him to be the most dangerous and secret of the conspirators; and finally the issue of greased cartridges to both Mohammedan and Hindu, the one considering pigs' fat to be unclean, and the other regarding cows' fat to be too sacred to touch, —and unluckily the story is true enough, though the officers did not know and indignantly denied it; all these things inflamed the minds of the rank and file.

The area of the outbreak is, roughly, an irregular figure of which the diagonal is the river Jumna from Delhi to Allahabad, a distance of 450 miles. It was almost entirely a sepoy rising, except in the lately annexed Kingdom of Oude

where it was national. The great vassal princes were almost all either neutral or loyal. In Bengal there was considerable panic, but the sepoys there were disarmed. Bombay was mostly, and Madras, and the Deccan under able native guidance, were entirely loyal. John Lawrence was able to trust to the Sikhs, and forming a flying column overawed the other regiments of the Punjab, while beyond in Afghanistan Dost Mohammed was faithful. The Ghurkhas of Nepal, who were quite independent, enlisted in large numbers on our side[1].

The mutiny exploded prematurely at *Mirut* in May 1857. Thence the sepoys marched 40 miles to *Delhi*, raised the green flag of the prophet Mohammed, and set upon the ancient imperial throne an old man who still bore the title of Great Mogul. At once the few white troops and loyal sepoys were concentrated, and, after fighting their way down, seized a ridge to the north of Delhi where their flank and rear were protected by the broad Jumna. They maintained a pretence of besieging Delhi: really they were themselves besieged on the ridge; but at all costs the effort had to be made to impress the natives. John Lawrence then sent down a force under Nicholson; in September was delivered an assault on the Cashmere gate of Delhi, and a week's fighting from gate to gate and from palace to palace through the streets won the city; the heroic Nicholson was killed in the moment of victory.

On the other side the centres of mutiny were *Cawnpore* and *Lucknow*, the capital of Oude, and here it was entirely a Hindu movement. By the gross treachery of Nana Sahib, all the British at Cawnpore were murdered in cold blood after surrender. At Lucknow some 1,100 whites, viz. 535 men of the 32nd (East Surrey) regiment, civilians, women

[1] Probably it is due to the staunchness of Sikhs and Ghurkhas in 1857 that so many people have imagined that they are the only good fighting races of the Indian army now, a view most unfair to the Rajputs, Dogras, Mohammedans, Baluchis, and others.

and children, with 700 faithful natives, mostly pensioned veterans who were true to their salt, fortified themselves under Henry Lawrence in the Residency and some neighbouring buildings; when he was killed the command fell to General Inglis. Cut off from all outside news, constantly attacked by mines, confined in a narrow space in all the heat of an Indian midsummer amidst an unspeakable stench and an "infinite torment of flies," the garrison held out for 87 days, July 1 to September 25.

Meanwhile Lord Canning, the Governor General, at last received some troops returning from a Persian expedition, and others who were on their way from England to China and were diverted by Sir George Grey from the Cape. They were pushed up towards Allahabad as fast as they arrived. First Henry Havelock, a deeply pious man and a fighter of the Cromwell and Gordon type who both prayed and studied the art of war, cut his way through to Cawnpore with the 64th (North Staffs), the 78th (Seaforths), and the Madras (Dublin) Fusiliers[1], and, seeing the blood and hair of the women and children on the walls where they were murdered and the well into which the corpses were thrown, the men went mad and inflicted terrible vengeance. But at Cawnpore he had to wait until James Outram arrived. Then, Outram waiving his right as senior officer to lead and thereby earning his title of "the Bayard of India," Havelock advanced with 3,000 men and cut through at last to the Residency on September 25.

All was not over yet, for the relieving force and garrison combined were not strong enough to fight their way out. At last Colin Campbell reached Calcutta from England to take the supreme command, but was ahead of the great stream of reinforcements. No time was to be lost, so he made up a force of a few newly arrived men, a battery of

[1] It is unfortunate that Tennyson forgot to mention the 64th in his poem. In generous appreciation of the services of Scots, especially the Highlanders, Englishmen are often unfair to their own regiments.

naval guns manned by sailors under Captain Peel of H.M.S. "Shannon," and some of the army that had stormed Delhi, and effected the final relief on November 16 with some 5,000 men. Then the old garrison with the women and children, Outram's relief force—for Havelock died just at this moment —and Campbell's second relief force, fought their way back again to Cawnpore.

It remained to stamp out the mutiny thoroughly, and this was the work of a full year. Reinforcements were pouring in from home, seasoned men from the Crimea. Sir Colin undertook the siege of Lucknow, and stormed the place in March 1858. Sir Hugh Rose from Bombay fought for several months in the Central Provinces. The rest was a matter of time as various flying columns hunted down the remaining bodies of scattered mutineers.

In looking back we may be tempted to wonder at the luck of empire. If the Mutiny had overlapped with the Crimean war, we should have had no troops to spare and India would have been lost. But a moment's reflection shows that this was really impossible. Conspiracy is a matter of time; when the conspirators, thinking that we had failed in the Crimea, were laying their plans, the Treaty of Paris was already signed; therefore the troops trained to fight the Russians were ready for India. Great imperial nations, the old Romans like ourselves, rarely have had two serious enemies at once.

A Period of non-Intervention. Palmerston was an energetic minister at home, throwing himself into the questions of factory-inspection, town-planning, and drainage; the pioneer of the latter movement was Edwin Chadwick, and it is wonderful that it had not been taken in hand properly much earlier. The French were giving trouble, for they boasted that they had won Sebastopol, though the weakening of Russia was to our advantage alone. When Orsini, an Italian living in London, went over to Paris and nearly killed Napoleon with a bomb, there was a loud outcry;

Palmerston proposed a conspiracy bill which seemed to be done to please Napoleon, and he had to resign in 1858.

The second Derby-Disraeli ministry was in for over a year. They tried to stop Napoleon from going to war with Austria. They did away with the East India Company, and put India under the Crown and Parliament. They proposed a new Reform Bill, by which votes were to be given to educated and professional men and to those who had money in the savings bank, but these were denounced as "fancy" votes.

Palmerston returned in June 1859 and remained Prime Minister till 1865; Lord John was his Foreign Secretary. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer completed the Free Trade movement by taking off all duties, except on luxuries and a few things that cannot be produced at home, spirits and wines, tea and coffee and tobacco. Cobden went over to France, and himself personally made a Free Trade treaty with Napoleon. No attempt was made by either party to increase or improve our army, but in fear of France the Volunteers were established under a fond delusion that they could take the place of regular soldiers. For sea defence experiments were being made to design ironclads, and even Cobden wanted "three keels to two" as against the French; both nations, scrapping their wooden ships after failure against Sebastopol, were starting equal in the creation of a new navy. But in general the feeling of the Great Exhibition year was returning; the nation was all for peace and non-interference, trade and economy; we would go on with our manufactures and let other nations fight, for we had had enough of it in the Crimea and in India.

Thus when Napoleon in 1859, ambitious of more glory on the scene of his uncle's earliest exploits, started as the ally of Victor Emanuel to liberate North East Italy from the Austrians, first Lord Derby tried to stop him, then Palmerston was strictly neutral. Suddenly Napoleon made peace, told Victor Emanuel to be content with Lombardy,

and took as his own reward Savoy and Nice. But Italy was violently excited, and several states demanded union with Victor Emanuel; Garibaldi in 1860 invaded in turn Sicily and Naples. Palmerston and Lord John seized their chance to interpret non-interference by persuading Napoleon not to interfere, and thus Austria did not interfere. Fair play being now secured by British help, *United Italy* became an accomplished fact, except that Venetia yet remained to the Austrians, and Napoleon as a good Catholic garrisoned Rome for the Pope.

In the Far East Palmerston, for the last time in alliance with Napoleon, sent an expedition to Pekin in 1860. He demanded satisfaction in 1862 from Japan for the death of a British resident. On the other hand he restored the Ionian Islands to Greece, for she had recently got rid of her Bavarian king and chosen George of Denmark to succeed him.

We come to the fateful decade. In 1861 William I succeeded as King of Prussia and called Bismarck to advise him. Two things have to be considered. Firstly Napoleon III seemed to be utterly untrustworthy, for he had begun two wars and ended them suddenly without any thought for his allies; he was not a scoundrel, but a very ordinary and even well-meaning man[1], quite unable to live up to his name, and swayed by the noisy profiteering party in France. Secondly the Prussians under two feeble kings had done nothing since 1815. Consequently Palmerston and our nation generally would not cooperate with France, and never suspected what William and Bismarck were going to make of Prussia. All our leading writers, Carlyle who was just then bringing out his *Frederick the Great*, Freeman, Froude and others, were pro-Germans; most of them were

[1] He really had the root of the matter in him, for he thought that small nations had the right to express their wishes by *plébiscite*, i.e. by a general vote, what we to-day know as "self-determination." But he was never consistent or brave enough to carry out this idea properly.

pro-Prussians. Queen Victoria, fond as she was personally of Napoleon and his wife, was pro-German. Where no one foresaw to what tremendous lengths Prussia would go, it would be unfair to deride Palmerston in particular.

Bismarck first had to prussianise the Prussians, that is to say, to bend the many Saxons and Westphalians and Rhinelanders, who had been annexed to Prussia in 1814—15, to accept his policy of taxation and an increased army in dutiful obedience to the Hohenzollerns. Then he came to an understanding with Russia. The Prussian troops stood by while the Russians crushed a Polish revolt; Napoleon wished to help the Poles, but Palmerston refused to join with him. Consequently up to 1870 the Tsar stood by to give moral support to Prussia.

In 1863—64 there was the Danish question. Two duchies were joined to Denmark, *Schleswig* which was partly, *Holstein* which was entirely, German in blood. Bismarck got Francis Joseph to cooperate, and the Prussians occupied Schleswig, the Austrians Holstein. Palmerston and Russell spoke with no uncertain voice of helping Denmark. But when it came to the point the pro-German feeling here was too strong; Queen Victoria was against war; Napoleon refused to cooperate; a few English were excited because the Prince of Wales had just married Alexandra of Denmark, but this was hardly a valid *casus belli*. So Palmerston said that he only meant "moral help." Robert Cecil, the future Marquis of Salisbury, wrote a bitter article against his cowardice and contrasted it with his barefaced bullying of China and Japan, but there the matter ended. Neither party dared to take the nation into confidence and propose to strengthen our army; it would have been too expensive.

Meanwhile there was a fierce civil war in the *United States* 1861—65. The Southern States broke off from the Union to maintain negro slavery and the right to emigrate with slaves into the new middle and western country, and

they set up an independent Confederacy. Many of our nation sympathised; they were only doing what Washington had done against us, claiming "self-determination": they were more gentlemanly than the loud Yankees of the North, a feeling which Disraeli clearly expressed in *Lothair* and which of course gave very great offence. But there were plenty of anti-slavery pro-Northerners in England who did not talk such nonsense. Palmerston was for rigid non-interference. However, when a Northern cruiser took two Southern ambassadors off a British ship, he strongly demanded their release and even sent troops to Canada, until President Lincoln, under cover of doing it for justice' sake and not because John Bull blustered, gave them up. Also some privateers, the "Alabama" in particular, were built for the Southerners in British yards and did much harm to Northern commerce. On the other hand the close blockade of the Southern ports by the Northern navy caused a cotton famine in Lancashire.

Napoleon was ready to help the South, but was again faced by Palmerston's coldness towards him. Then, under cover of the war, he sent a French expedition to Mexico. The Northerners, having finally crushed the South by superior numbers, by overwhelming Sea Power and manufacturing power, and by discipline which they took a long time to learn, turned on Napoleon and ordered him to withdraw his troops. For the only time in their history before 1917 they were strong enough to enforce their will, and he had to obey. This Mexican failure explains largely his weak policy in Europe in 1866.

The Disraeli-Gladstone Period. Palmerston died in 1865. At once the political world was upset. He had been opposed to a new Reform Bill which public opinion demanded, and his death made it possible. In fact the self-satisfaction of the last twenty years was beginning to be upset, and there was a distinct murmur against *laissez faire*. It was now, for instance, that a rich American

citizen, Mr Peabody, started a new crusade against slums by giving large sums to build model workmen's dwellings, and that too in the middle of the civil war when many Englishmen were reviling his country.

Earl Russell—Lord John having been raised to a peerage—was Prime Minister 1865—66. He was in earnest and no longer thought his bill of 1832 to be final. But he was long past his prime, and retired into private life. The third Derby-Disraeli ministry followed, 1866—68; and Derby resigning in 1868, Disraeli was for the first time Prime Minister. Gladstone was the recognised head of the Liberals. Thus the two rivals, previously overshadowed, were at last when in advanced life face to face as leaders.

William Ewart Gladstone was of a Scottish family long settled in Liverpool and wealthy from commerce, yet Tory by tradition and strongly anti-Presbyterian. All his life he was wrenching himself away from his early ideas. In 1833 in the Commons he had to defend his father, who was attacked by name as a typical cruel West Indian slave-owner. Step by step he became a Peelite and Free Trader, a Liberal, an advanced Radical, a Home Ruler, always hotly taking up each cause as he was converted to it. He was not at first attracted by European Liberalism, but by good fortune having seen the interior of a Neapolitan gaol after 1848 he startled Europe by his tale of the hideous treatment of political prisoners. He did not at first support Ashley's Factory legislation, but in time saw the wickedness of *laissez faire*. Thus knowledge gave him righteous anger. His followers were passionately devoted to him, for his earnestness was intense and his oratory sincere; indeed he really convinced an audience, his words ringing out clear and true from strong lips and strong throat. Bismarck thought him a "professor"; Disraeli thought him a "sophistical rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity"; the sneer of neither is justified. He showed his literary

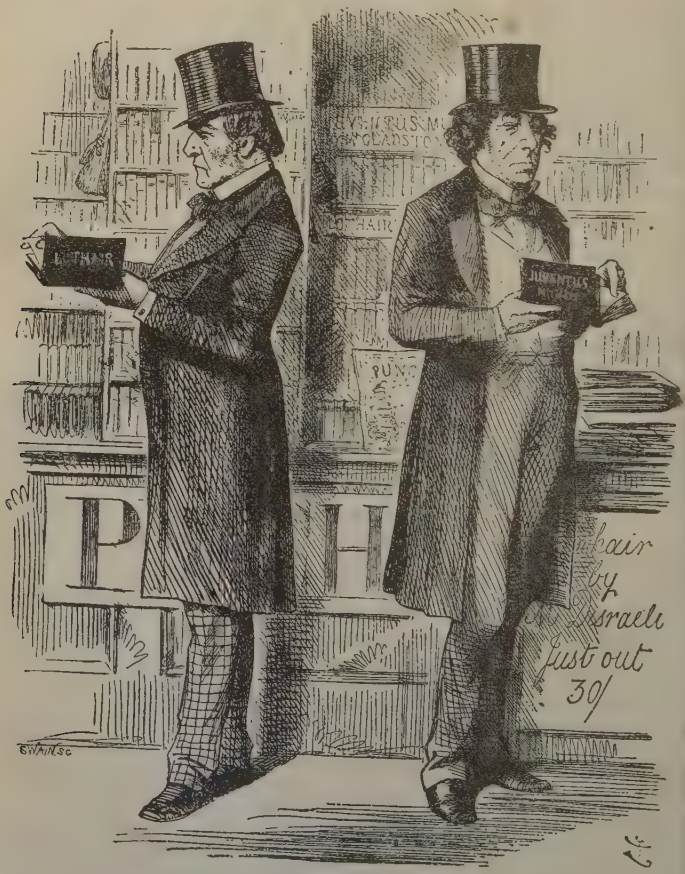
taste by charming works on Homer and old Greek life, and was a devoted High Churchman.

The Disraeli of the late sixties and seventies was no longer the Disraeli who so bitterly attacked Peel. After 1846 the farmers were not ruined, therefore he converted his own party to Free Trade. He started a new policy of "dishing the Whigs" by adopting their ideas of reforms before they had a chance of pushing too far. Let us take some modern instance to explain this; had he been alive this century, he would have taken up Old Age Pensions so as to pass a Conservative measure in a sane spirit, and thus prevent the Radicals from passing theirs in a spirit of violence and bitterness against the well-to-do classes. His idea was to make Conservatism a real thing, to conserve what was good. Yet we shall find him on occasions himself giving way to violence, and he did not tackle the questions of slum-life and human misery with a thoroughness worthy of the author of *Sybil*. In European politics we shall find him returning to Palmerston's older idea of protecting British interests, abandoning non-intervention, and laying the foundations of a new imperialism.

Gladstone's lion-like head and hair, his strong features and old-fashioned high collar and cravat, and Disraeli's sarcastic face with hair curling over his forehead, were alike the joys of the artist and the caricaturist. Few men have their characters so well shown in their portraits and in *Punch's* cartoons. The cleverest of the latter puts them together; Gladstone is reading *Lothair* and says "flippant"; Disraeli is reading *Juventus Mundi* and says "prosy"! Another shows Gladstone, roused for once to imperialism because of Russian aggression, pulling his hair over his forehead and trying to make it curl.

The question of the moment in 1866 was the rivalry of Austria and Prussia. The Austrians wished both Schleswig and Holstein to be in the German Confederation; Bismarck, determined to have them both for Prussia, made this an

excuse for war. Saxony and Hanover and all the second-rate German states supported Austria, but Napoleon with amazing blindness was tricked by Bismarck into neutrality.



Mr G d s t ne, 'Hm!—Flippant—'
Mr D s r li, 'Ha! Prosy!'

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Derby and Disraeli entered into office on the eve of war, and had no time, even if they wished, to intervene, though Victoria was pro-Austrian. The Prussian armies with their new breech-loading rifles crushed the Austrians at *Sadowa* in Bohemia in a seven-weeks' campaign. *Hanover* was annexed to Prussia. Victor Emanuel obtained *Venetia* for United Italy, a gift from Prussia which had some gall in it.

Lord Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, passed a bill creating the Dominion of Canada.

In 1867 Disraeli brought up his *Second Reform Bill* so as to forestall a more thorough bill of the Liberals. But, whereas he had attacked Peel in old days for giving way to popular clamour, he now himself seemed to bring up his bill because of a Hyde Park riot. Gladstone at once introduced into it several amendments which he accepted; then Carnarvon and Robert Cecil resigned, accusing him of cowardice as he had accused Peel. The act when passed gave votes in boroughs to all rate-payers and £10 lodgers, in counties to £5 owners and £12 occupiers; a few boroughs lost members; Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, and Glasgow, were raised to three members each, but each voter had only two votes; the City of London retained four members, and Greater London was divided into nine districts each with two.

Gladstone also carried a bill, which Disraeli allowed to pass, by which Church Rates were abolished; hitherto all parishioners, even Roman Catholics and Dissenters, had to pay for the upkeep of the parish church.

Gladstone's First Ministry: 1868—74. Reform came at once with a rush. Nonconformists were admitted to Oxford and Cambridge; the Irish Church was disestablished; School Boards were created to provide compulsory education to all children at the national expense, except that the parents were to pay a very small fee; the Charity Commission was created to control the old endowed

public schools[1]; the Ballot Act enabled, or pretended to enable, voters to record their votes secretly by putting a cross on a piece of paper; Army Reform included abolition of purchase of commissions, short service in the ranks, and the creation of pairs of linked battalions; the Licensing Act gave to borough and county magistrates the power to give licenses to, and have control over, public houses; the Irish Land Act tried the three "f's," fair rents, free sale of land, and fixed tenure. Here we see the beginnings of a moderate socialism, of which the principle was that all, whether poor children or Irish farmers, should be given by the State the chance to start fairly in life and then be free to push ahead in the struggle for existence. But of course many classes were offended, clergy, land-owners, brewers, and all rate-payers who grudged having to pay for the education of other people's children to enable them to compete with their own.

Gladstone consented to refer to arbitration the question of the *Alabama*; an international court at Geneva awarded three millions to the United States. Similarly a dispute as to the boundary between British Columbia and the U.S. was judged by the new German Emperor against us. Conservatives accused Gladstone of a weak surrender. But most people now will agree that arbitration, even if likely to be unfair to an unpopular and wealthy nation, is good in principle.

In the summer of 1870 Bismarck tricked Napoleon III into a declaration of war. Within one month from the first shot fired the armies of Prussia and the South German states united—for Napoleon's blunder in 1866 drove them into Prussia's arms—overwhelmed the unready and badly

[1] Very many old schools which had gone to decay were revived by energetic men in the 19th century and thus became national rather than local, e.g. Rugby by Arnold, Uppingham by Thring, Repton by Pears. New schools were Marlborough for clergymen's sons and Wellington for officers' sons, Cheltenham, Clifton, Malvern, and Haileybury which took over the buildings of the late East India Company's College. The Charterhouse was moved from London to Surrey, and St Paul's from the City to Kensington.

led French, blockaded one large army in Metz, and forced another and the Emperor with it to surrender at Sedan. Then the *Third Republic* was set up in Paris on September 4. Very many English thought at first that Napoleon was in the wrong, but, as the war continued and the Republic's new armies fought bravely but in vain, our feeling went round to the side of France as she was suffering for his fault. Then Carlyle wrote a long letter to *The Times*, lauding Germany's advance to be "a Queen of the Continent" in place of France who had always been "a bad neighbour" to her; it is claimed that his influence was so great that he prevented our government from going to war to save Paris, which was being besieged. In January 1871, just before the city fell, the King of Prussia was at his headquarters at Versailles saluted as the first *German Emperor*.

France lost Alsace and part of Lorraine, and had to pay a war-fine equal to 200 millions of our money. Stripped of its French garrison, Rome at last was taken by Victor Emanuel and became the capital of United Italy. And, when one Crimean ally was in the dust, Tsar Alexander II defied the other, tore up the Treaty of Paris of 1856, and announced that he was going to refortify Sebastopol and construct a new Black Sea fleet; we British were violently excited, but Gladstone drew back from war; Bismarck and the Tsar were certainly acting in concert, for the Russians had been ready to prevent Austria from helping France, and now had their reward.

In the election of 1874 Gladstone was badly beaten. "Vested interests" were too strong for him, and his party said they were beaten by "beer and bible."

Disraeli's Second Ministry: 1874—80. He formed his Cabinet from aristocrats, Lord Derby the son of his old chief, Lord Carnarvon and Lord Salisbury (Robert Cecil) who were now reconciled to him, and practical business men such as Mr Hunt and Mr W. H. Smith, a combination

which worked very well. He passed several quiet practical measures, which were useful but caused little stir. But one cannot avoid the thought that he was wrong in making reform voluntary rather than compulsory. Thus he was very keen on sanitation, but he left it to town councils; Joseph Chamberlain, the young and violently radical mayor of radical Birmingham, wanting to sweep away slums, could not force land-owners to sell, but he could declare new main streets to be necessary, and carefully chose to plant them through the worst of the old slums.

By the Conspiracy Act of 1875 Disraeli conceded to Trade Unionists the right of "peaceful picketing"; that is, strikers might assemble outside the works or factory to persuade non-strikers to join them, as long as they abstained from criminal violence. He passed two "consolidating" Factory Acts. The Merchant Shipping Act, so as to prevent ship-owners from overloading their boats, fixed a load-line which was not to sink below salt-water level. This act was passed after Mr Plimsoll, losing his temper in the Commons, savagely accused merchants of deliberately endangering the lives of seamen; certainly Disraeli would have been thought the last man capable of yielding to such passion, and as a matter of fact the Plimsoll line was too low and was afterwards heightened without danger.

Disraeli's imperialism was first seen in 1875 when he bought for four millions the Khedive's shares in the *Suez Canal*. A private French Company under Napoleon III's patronage had constructed and opened the canal just before 1870. Our nation had disliked and opposed it, wishing the main trade of India to come round the Cape and so to London, and indeed it has diverted much of London's trade to Mediterranean ports. But, the canal once opened and the spendthrift Khedive ready to sell, Disraeli saw his chance. The company is still French, and our government only own 175,000 out of 400,000 original shares. He arranged a dual control of Egypt in concert with France. On January 1,

1877, Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India, thereby taking over at last the full responsibility of the old Moguls. Carnarvon, following up his policy of confederation, annexed the Transvaal in 1877 with a view to a future Dominion in South Africa on the Canadian model.

The *Eastern Question* in 1876 absorbs all our interests. Having got a new naval base at Sebastopol and a new fleet, the Russians were ready to attack Turkey. The western Powers had never insisted on the Sultan treating his Christian subjects decently, and it was easy to stir up a Christian revolt. Bosnia and Herzegovina revolted, and Bulgaria followed. While the Powers were discussing and Disraeli was thwarting their efforts to control the Sultan, the Turks overpowered the Bulgarians with merciless severity. Then Gladstone denounced the "atrocities" with his unrivalled eloquence, and demanded that the Turks, by which he meant the Sultan and his government, must be turned out of Europe "bag and baggage." Freeman cried "Perish India" rather than allow the blood-stained Turks to be its bulwark. The excitement was intense, beyond even that of the Home Rule crisis of 1886 or Lloyd George's budget crisis of 1910. But Disraeli was unmoved; his Jewish blood made him strongly anti-Russian, and he seemed callous to suffering Bulgaria; he implied that there were no atrocities, and that in any case Gladstone's "exaggeration" was but a cloak to his wish to return to power. At this moment he took an earldom as Lord Beaconsfield. The Sultan, hoping to have his support, refused to give any promise of reform. Finally in the spring of 1877 the Tsar declared war.

The Russian armies, held up for a time by the fine defence of Osman Pasha on their flank at Plevna, fought their way through Bulgaria and over the main chain of the Balkans close up to Constantinople. Admiration of Turkish bravery and fear of Russian success produced a violent reaction; our extremists howled for war, and a music-hall song pronounced that "We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do!

.....We fought the bear before, we'll fight him now again," betraying the profound ignorance of our nation that the French, not "we," captured Sebastopol. Disraeli meant to fight, sent the fleet to the Dardanelles, and brought over sepoys to Malta; but the final advance of the Russians was so rapid that he could not have got a force to Constantinople in time. Both Carnarvon and Derby, who had so far always influenced him for peace, resigned rather than countenance war.

The winter passed away, and in 1878 the man who settled things was not Disraeli but Bismarck. He was no longer in need of the friendship of Russia as in 1863 and 1866 and 1870, but had an understanding with Austria-Hungary, his old enemy of 1866. But he was quite ready to let Disraeli appear to be the leader in opposition. So, playing the part of a benevolent neutral, he suggested an international Congress at Berlin. Afraid of a German-Austrian combination, and knowing that after all their victories and hardships the warm weather had ruined his army outside Constantinople by fever and dysentery, the Tsar agreed to let the Concert of Europe settle the peace.

Six Great Powers sent representatives to the *Berlin Congress*, ours being Disraeli himself and Salisbury. The map of the Balkans was re-arranged. Bosnia and Herzegovina were put under the protection of Austria; Montenegro, Serbia, and Rumania were to be independent; Bulgaria was to have a Christian prince, but under the suzerainty of the Sultan; Russia gained a very little land in Europe, but a good deal to the south of the Caucasus in Asia. Thus much was done to liberate the Christians from Turkish rule, yet Russia had little reward except their gratitude. Disraeli returned to London bringing "Peace with honour." Then it was announced that we were going to occupy Cyprus, and would maintain the Turkish government in return for a promise of good government. We know that "good" has as much meaning for Turks as "grateful" for Bulgarians.

Quite the most important thing to be noticed is that the Austrians, who had no active part in the wars of either 1854—55 or 1877—78, were recognised by the Congress as entitled to have influence in the Balkans. Meanwhile we and the Russians were set against each other more definitely than before.

A Great Nation's Little Wars. The immediate result was the *Second Afghan War*. Russian ambition, now that a dam had checked it at Constantinople, overflowed towards Central Asia. Our north-west policy in India had been, in John Lawrence's words, "masterly inactivity"; but Disraeli, knowing that Russia was hard pressed for money and distracted by nihilists, wanted a "scientific frontier." He demanded that Shere Ali, Dost Mohammed's son, should accept a British envoy, and on his refusal sent in 1878 expeditions to Kandahar and Kabul; the name of Frederick Roberts now first became familiar to us. Shere Ali was deposed; Sir Louis Cavagnari was installed as our envoy at Kabul, and our troops were withdrawn. In 1879 the natural thing happened. The Afghans rose and murdered Sir Louis. Roberts was ordered back, and fought his way to *Kabul* with two weak brigades and insufficient transport; then he chose his position, and when 100,000 wild Mohammedan fanatics attacked in a *jehad* or holy war, he retreated to his lines, lured them on, routed them and sallied out, and pacified the country. Suddenly came in 1880 a similar wild rising round *Kandahar*, and a small British force was overwhelmed at *Maiwand*. A march of 300 miles in 20 days brought Roberts with 10,000 men without wheeled guns or transport to within striking distance; then he scattered the Afghans and entered Kandahar. Abdul Rahman, nephew of Shere Ali and thought to be a friend of Russia, was chosen to be the new Amir. But before Disraeli could come to a decision on Afghan policy, a general election had already returned Gladstone to power in April.

The Transvaal was annexed in 1877 to our empire by

A group of Sepoys. The three officers to the right in the bottom row are a Sikh, a Dogra, and a Pathan. Most of the men are Pathans (Mohammedans); the three with Chinese features are Ghoorkas (Hindoos by religion); the three with square heads brushed [illegible] Sikh

Lord Carnarvon. The genuine country Boers hated us, but they saw it was profitable to them that we should pay their national debt and break the power of the *Zulus*. Cetewayo, Dingaan's nephew, had maintained an organised army of Zulus, who were certainly the most manly and intelligent race in Africa, though savage when roused. On our government fell the task of disbanding them in 1879. Lord Chelmsford, unduly confident of our power, had his troops scattered in too many small bodies. At *Isandhlwana* north of the Buffalo river the Zulus swooped down on and destroyed one of these; but they failed to rush a post near the river at *Rorke's Drift*, where a company of the 24th (South Wales Borderers) and a few others under Lieutenants Bromhead and Chard beat them off from a hastily built rampart of bags and tins. The defence of this and other posts saved Natal from invasion. Then Chelmsford concentrated, and, advancing more cautiously, routed the Zulus at *Ulundi* and finished the war. Proud carelessness, heroic defence, careful rally, and final triumph of discipline, are characteristic of our imperial history[1].

Gladstone's Second Ministry: 1880—85. During the election of 1880 Gladstone made his Midlothian campaign, and denounced Disraeli's policy in the Balkans and Afghanistan and Africa. He saw only the rampant anti-Russian and jingoistic side. Indeed a sane view of the responsibilities of the British Empire was only now beginning to be realised; Sir Charles Dilke, an avowed republican but certainly the ablest statesman of those days, first called attention to *Greater Britain* and invented the phrase; Sir J. Seeley in his *Expansion*, and Froude in *Oceana* followed. But Gladstone could see nothing but conquest for conquest's sake in Disraeli's policy, and himself rushed to the opposite extreme. On coming to power he had as his most radical supporter Joseph Chamberlain. Disraeli died in opposition in 1881.

[1] See pp. 381—82.

Disraeli would have evacuated Kabul and retained Kandahar; Gladstone evacuated both, but annexed a portion of Baluchistan around Quetta so as to control the Bolan Pass. Each was justified in his degree: Disraeli because he showed our power to the Afghans while Russia, in the throes of nihilism during which Alexander II was murdered, was unable to strike; Gladstone because he trusted Abdul Rahman, who, impressed by our good faith, was our loyal friend for thirty years. When at last, in 1885, the Russians, advancing through Turkestan and laying the trans-Caspian railway, reached the north Afghan frontier, Gladstone was firm and Abdul Rahman staunch. There was no war, but the "Russian scare" lasted for a long time.

The Zulus crushed and their debt paid by us, the Boers rose in 1880. Blockading several posts in the Transvaal, they advanced to *Laing's Nek* at the tip where Natal runs up, and repulsed the British forces by their rifle fire. By Gladstone's orders negotiations were going on, but our general occupied *Majuba Hill* to dominate the nek. It is a very steep hill; when the younger Boers attacked, our men had to stand on the sky-line to depress their rifles, and they were thus picked off at long range by the older Boers. Evelyn Wood was advancing with larger forces and Roberts was on his way out from England, but Gladstone stopped the war by granting independence, under a vague British suzerainty, to the *South Africa Republic*; Kruger was the first president, and gold had not yet been found. Chamberlain and other Liberals who afterwards left Gladstone were still in the Cabinet, and therefore shared his responsibility.

In 1882 Arabi Pasha, at the head of an Egyptian army faction, broke out against the westerners, French and British, who were exploiting the country and canal for their own benefit. His cry was "Egypt for the Egyptians," but it was an insincere cry, for he only wanted power for himself and other native aristocrats so as to domineer over the peasants.

The French were afraid that at their least move the Germans would declare war, and in fact ever since their rally after 1871 this terror had overshadowed them. The British fleet alone was available, and in July bombarded Arabi's forts at *Alexandria*; but a landing force of sailors and marines could not save the city, where the mob looted and murdered. The army at last arrived under Garnet Wolseley, first saved the Suez Canal which Arabi had not touched, then crossing the desert stormed the lines of *Tel-el-Kebir*, and followed up so quickly that Cairo was saved from the fate of Alexandria. Gladstone declared a British protectorate over Egypt until the Khedive should be able to rule alone; but the French company still controlled the commerce of the canal.

The same excitable Mohammedan feeling, really a wild ambition of slaving Arab tribes to domineer over the negroes and other Sudanese, broke out in the Sudan. The Mahdi, a self-styled prophet and new Mohammed, overpowered the forces sent against him from Egypt, and Osman Digna was in arms on the Red Sea coast. Gladstone decided on an evacuation of all Upper Egypt, and sent General Charles Gordon, who had shown great power of influencing natives in the Sudan and also in China, to effect it. Gordon went, found the Mahdi too strong, and called for British bayonets. Too late Gladstone sent Wolseley to save him. Just as the van of the army, after bitter fighting against the Arabs, was almost within touch, the Mahdi captured Khartum and killed Gordon, January 1885. Gladstone finally decided to complete the evacuation, withdrew Wolseley, fixed a boundary at Wadi Halfa, retained only Suakim on the coast, and proceeded to pacify and control Lower Egypt alone for the present. It is even to-day difficult to discuss the motives of what the enraged Conservatives called "scuttle." But at least we know that Lord Cromer's patient organisation and just rule in Egypt gave security to the peasants, and promoted prosperity by light taxation

and great works of engineering, until even the French acknowledged at last the blessings of the Pax Britannica. Gladstone must have the credit of laying the foundation of this, even though the reconquest of the Sudan was put off; and Chamberlain was still with him.

Our knowledge of what happened in 1914 is sufficient excuse for some remarks here on strictly military matters. The main point is that, while each European Power was a nation in arms, we still had a small professional army. After the Crimean war not an effort was made to improve it. After the Franco-German war Gladstone at least made some slight reform by introducing short service, seven years in the ranks, five in the reserve; battalions were linked in pairs, so that one should be at home for the training of recruits and send out drafts to the other somewhere in the Empire; the militia was used as an extra reserve. The system worked badly, because the home battalions were far too young and could not be sent on service without their reserves; yet the whole aim of the reform was to get rid of long service, which used to give a good first line but no reserves. Then the adoption of a breech-loader after 1866 made good shooting very necessary, yet the government allowed but little practice ammunition, and if a regiment did shoot well one is sure to find that its officers paid for extra ammunition out of their own pockets. Lastly, neither Conservatives nor Liberals ever thought it necessary to pay officers or men a proper wage. Consequently such episodes as Maiwand and Majuba Hill occurred. Then the British public blamed the officers, the home authorities, anybody but themselves.

Even such an army did well in its degree; it was sufficient for such wars as have been now described, but only through the use of the best regiments and of the older men of the reserve; it would not have been good enough for an European war. Moreover the steady shoulder-to-shoulder fire from the martinis, single-loading rifles which threw heavy

conical bullets, could stop the fiercest rushes of Afghans or Zulus or Arabs; but the Boers were sportsmen used to rifles from childhood, fired independently at long range, and galloped off when our redcoats got near. The Boers made use of us and our tactics to overcome the Zulus, and then proved that on their own ground their special tactics were superior to ours.

At home Gladstone's one great measure was the *Irish Land Act* of 1881. There was a new organised Irish party under Mr C. S. Parnell, which compelled attention to their affairs in the Commons by wasting time in long speeches, and in Ireland was connected with the Land League in a campaign of "boycotting[1]" anyone who took a farm from which the previous tenant had been evicted for non-payment of rent. The object of the party was to force legislation by violence. The act was carried and provided for Law Courts to regulate fair rents as between landlord and tenant. But the Parnellites were not satisfied, and demanded Home Rule. Then followed the arrest of the leaders, Parnell included, then their release in hopes that Ireland could be governed through them under methods of leniency, then the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr Burke in broad daylight in the Phoenix Park just outside Dublin, then a Coercion Act.

In 1884 the *Third Reform Bill* was brought up, and was passed by agreement between Liberals and Conservatives. It gave to country voters the same rights as borough voters, namely all rate-payers, joint occupiers, and qualified lodgers; unfortunately no one raised a voice to protest against the stupidity of the method of registration of voters. Then, on pressure from the Conservatives, a *Redistribution Bill* was passed; counties and large boroughs were divided with as much accuracy as was possible into single member areas, one member to one area of about 70,000 inhabitants, so that Yorkshire had 22 divisions and Westmoreland 2, London 60,

[1] Derived from Captain Boycott, one of the first men victimised.

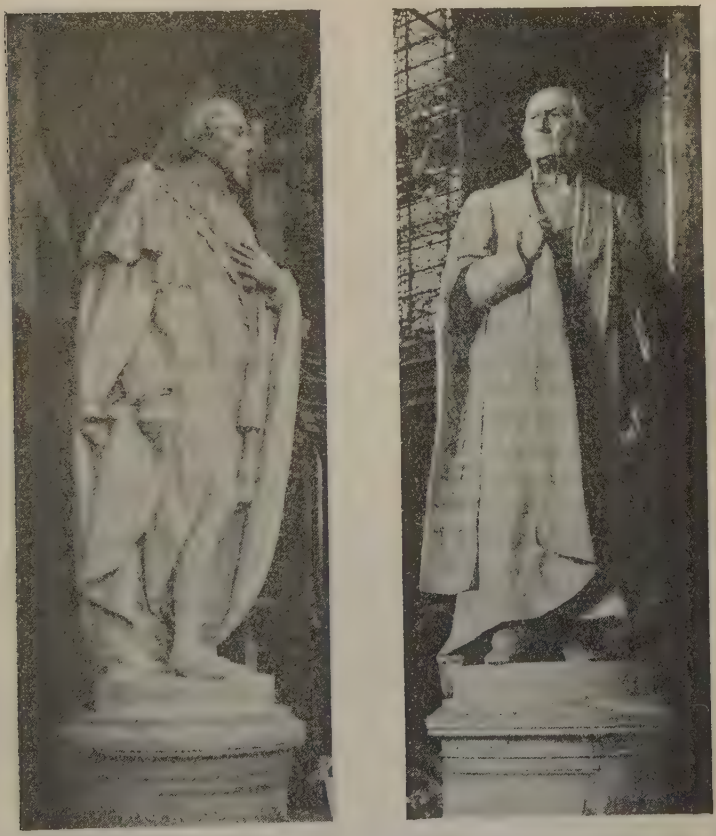
Liverpool 9, Glasgow 7, Birmingham 7, Manchester 6 and her neighbour Salford 3, Leeds 5, Sheffield 5, Bristol 4, Edinburgh 4, Belfast 4, Dublin 4. Smaller towns between 18,000 and 40,000 inhabitants, if previously they had two members, lost one; those above 40,000 and below 200,000 retained two members and were not divided into areas, so that each voter continued to have two votes. The general principle of the two bills was fair. But no allowance was made for the increase or decrease of population. Consequently in 1910 the Romford division of Essex, into which London has overflowed, had over 300,000 inhabitants and one member; Bath had two members to 50,000 inhabitants, and Cardiff one to 200,000.

Gladstone's Third Ministry: 1886. At the election of 1885 the chief thing discussed was social reform. Chamberlain put forward his own strongly radical program, a very unusual and even unconstitutional thing for a Cabinet minister to do; the chief proposal was to provide allotments of "three acres and a cow" to countrymen, and it raised a storm of ridicule. Home Rule for Ireland was hardly mentioned. The new county electors gave Gladstone a majority of 86 over the Conservatives, and the Parnellites numbered exactly 86. Therefore he could not hold office without their help. He brought in his first *Home Rule Bill.* At once the Liberals who followed Lord Hartington[1], and the Radicals connected with Bright and Chamberlain, broke away and formed the *Liberal Unionist* party.

The fact is that the Liberals were already splitting into sections, and Gladstone's sudden conversion to Home Rule simply hastened a rupture. Hartington was a Whig. The Chamberlainites were firmly individualistic on the old lines of Mill, lovers of individual liberty, every man to have his start in life without favour, and then to look after himself in the struggle for existence; they were satisfied with what

[1] Son of the Duke of Devonshire, and elder brother of Lord Frederick Cavendish.

Gladstone had done already, especially for the Nonconformists, and were afraid of further reforms on socialistic



Statues of Lord Beaconsfield and Gladstone in Westminster Abbey, north transept

lines. Birmingham went solid with Chamberlain. Some of the individualistic Radicals remained with Gladstone, partly

for personal reasons, and so did the Labour men, and all who looked for more socialistic measures similar to his Irish Land Act, which made the State to interfere between landlord and tenant.

The Home Rule Bill was lost in the Commons. There was another general election in the year.

Various Later Ministries after 1886. Lord Salisbury was Prime Minister in a strongly Unionist house with a majority of 118 over Liberals and Parnellites combined. A *Crimes Act* was passed, and under it Mr Balfour administered the law in Ireland. An enquiry into Parnell's conduct resulted in his favour, for it was proved that a letter printed in *The Times*, in which he appeared to justify murder, was a forgery.

Gladstone came in for the last time in 1892, but with a majority of only 40 Liberals and Irish Nationalists over the Unionists. His second *Home Rule Bill* was thrown out by the Lords; then he resigned owing to old age, and Lord Rosebery succeeded.

In 1895 Lord Salisbury had another spell, and was in office when Queen Victoria died.

In some respects it mattered little, except as regards Ireland, which party was in power. There were no violent disagreements as to foreign policy. In home matters, Salisbury set up County Councils, and made Greater London, minus the City, a County so as at last to give it self-government; Gladstone set up District and Parish Councils. Salisbury made public education in elementary schools entirely free. Under Rosebery the Death Duties were graduated, so that a man's property is taxed at his death, lightly if it be small and very heavily if it be large. Perhaps the most noticeable thing at the end of the century was the enormous increase of the national expenditure; in the fifties the budget was about 50 millions, in the eighties about 80 millions, and in the 20th century it ran up to 200 millions.

At the same time the farmers were suffering very much;

in the seventies they were not quite so prosperous as in the fifties and sixties, yet were not ruined, and the crisis came about rapidly in the eighties. Curiously enough this was just after Disraeli's death, and he had converted both himself and the Conservative party to Free Trade; Salisbury followed him, and made no move at all towards Protection. The reason of the crisis is clear; railways were completed in the prairie states of the Missouri and upper Mississippi, then in Canada, in Argentina, in South Russia and India, so that the vast bulk of cheaply carried corn could be sold at such prices that the home farmers could not compete. Then frozen meat, bacon, cheese, butter, eggs, vegetables, arrived in great quantities, either from France and Belgium, Denmark and Russia, or from Canada and the U.S. Some farmers saved themselves by adapting themselves to new conditions, substituting grass for wheat, and obtaining reductions in rent; in the 20th century prices for various reasons were somewhat better, and they began to rally a little. As soon as farming declined the younger countrymen migrated in large numbers into the towns, and Mr Lloyd George has described the result, too many B 2 and C 3 men and a dearth of virile agriculturists.

Forty Years in the Dominions. From about 1880 the fully self-governed "colonies" have greatly influenced the mother-country. We have got to know more about them. They have developed a sense of independence, and have discarded the word "colonies" as implying inferiority. They have even been antagonistic to us in some ways, as if the English were too haughtily supercilious and merely regarded them as a dumping ground for undesirables or "remittance men." They have tackled questions of confederation, labour, wages boards, payment of members, votes for women, which have come across from them to us. They have broken away from Free Trade, putting on duties against British as well as foreign goods so as to protect their own manufactures.

Australia and *New Zealand* started the labour agitation for "the four eights," 8 hours for work and recreation and sleep, and 8*s*. a day. Graham Berry in 1878 first introduced payment of M.P.'s in Victoria. Railways, buildings, education, have been maintained by public money and have caused considerable public debt. Monster strikes have led to the triumph of labour, consequently to large old age pensions etc. Women got votes first in New Zealand in 1893; they claim that by forcing on their Parliament a scheme of public medical aid and nursing they have saved thousands of babies; the men say that they have interfered needlessly in the drink question. Material prosperity has been great, coming not only from gold and wool and wheat, but also from many new mines; however there have been periods of bad slumps as well as of booms. But only quite recently has there been any attempt to contribute to the Royal Navy.

Confederation was delayed by jealousies; e.g. Victoria and N.S.W., being bitter rivals, have had different gauges on their railways so as to force their own products to be sent to Melbourne and Sydney respectively. The *Commonwealth* was not formally declared till 1901; the word implies that the common Parliament is stronger than the local Parliaments of the various States; thus Queensland cannot introduce black Kanakas to her sugar plantations without the consent of the Commonwealth, and the vast majority of Australians are determined that theirs shall be a white country. Each of the six *States* sends six members to the Senate, and representatives from 75 areas according to population sit in the Lower House. Women have votes, yet not till 1908 did Victoria give them votes locally. Tasmania is in the Commonwealth. But New Zealand has her own *Dominion* government, the word meaning something superior to "colony" but not implying confederation.

The *Dominion of Canada*, created in 1867, has less power comparatively than the *Provinces* which compose it. The reason is that the French of Quebec have always wanted

to keep their own laws of land-tenure and religious education under their local Parliament. Of the four original partners Ontario has 86 representatives in the Elected House, Quebec 65, Nova Scotia 18, New Brunswick 13. One of the first acts of the new Federal government was to buy out the Hudson Bay Company, which exists to-day merely as a trading concern. The lands thus taken over were governed from Ottawa as "territories," but in proportion as they have been populated they have become Provinces. Thus Manitoba was admitted in 1870 and has to-day 10 representatives. British Columbia came in in 1871 and has 7, Prince Edward Island in 1873 and has 4, and finally in 1905 Saskatchewan with 6 and Alberta with 4. Even the Klondyke district, since the discovery of gold in the Yukon valley in 1897, has one. Payment of members and manhood suffrage are in force in the Dominion. The second house or Senate is nominated, therefore is packed by the party in power. *Newfoundland*, whose fishermen have always feared that they would be outvoted by hostile farmers and lumbermen, remains outside with her own self-governing Parliament.

There has not always been cordial feeling between the Canadians and ourselves, chiefly because many of our undesirables have been shipped off to them; hence "no Englishman need apply." In the seventies they complained that our best emigrants went to the U.S., that our money was invested in the U.S., and that we made no attempt to "differentiate" in favour of their wheat. But the C.P.R. was completed in 1885 and our money began to flow to Canada. The free-trade treaty with the U.S. came to an end as far back as 1866. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a Frenchman and Prime Minister of the Dominion, brought in a Tariff which retained duties on British goods but made them considerably lower than on foreign, though we still did not reciprocate. On the other hand he opposed and prevented any contribution to the Royal Navy, and since 1914 has opposed Conscription.

South Africa, after Gladstone's surrender to the Boers in 1881, was chiefly concerned with British expansion to the west and north of the Dutch Republics and with the discovery of gold in the Transvaal. We gradually worked up through Bechuanaland and on to Matabeleland, and the name of Cecil Rhodes, promoter of a company in 1889 to establish our interests, was given to the latter; his dream was of a "Cape to Cairo" railway and an all-British Africa. At the same time the opening of the gold mines brought a rush of British to the Transvaal, where Johannesburg soon became a great city. Heavy taxation of the "outlanders" and the consequent wealth of the Boers, while they denied to our men free rights, provoked Dr Jameson, one of Rhodes' officials, to make a sudden raid towards Johannesburg; his force was overpowered, and the outlanders were treated worse than before. Then in 1899 came the Boer war against both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and in 1902 they were both annexed. In 1906 a Liberal government decided to create the *Union*; there was no idea of confederation, but Cape Colony and Natal, the Transvaal and Orange State, were united into one country with a Parliament at Cape Town. The Dutch have outvoted the British, but the work of Botha and Smuts from 1914 onwards has proved that the Union is a success; it may be that, without loving the British, the Dutch statesmen dislike the Germans more, especially as they expected German help in 1899 and were disappointed; but, whatever the reason, the new South Africa is satisfactory.

In *India* we have had many frontier wars, and have rectified the boundaries both to the N.W. and N.E. The Russian menace has been less and disappeared in the present century. Upper Burma has been annexed. The semi-independent Malay states have been federated and have prospered exceedingly; also they have been very loyal and contributed to the navy in a manner that has shamed other lands. But the *West Indies*, already hard hit by the abolition

of slavery, were almost ruined in the eighties and nineties by the enormous development of the beetroot industry in Europe; the extraction of sugar from beet was discovered in Prussia about 1760, and Napoleon I made great efforts to get his chemists to improve it when our blockade shut out cane sugar; but it is only since about 1880 that, financed by their governments, Europeans have been able to produce sugar from beet absolutely as good as that from cane. Meanwhile our free-trade ideas were so strong that we allowed the West Indies to fall to ruin, for neither tobacco nor bananas nor cocoa could quite save them.

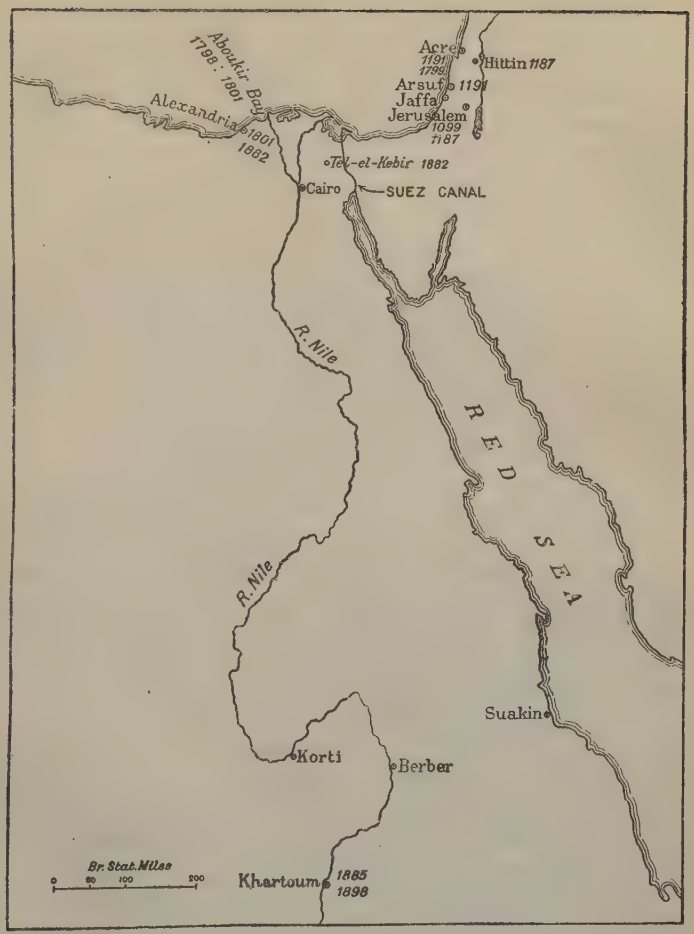
French and German Colonies. France, recovering from her humiliation, turned her attention to colonisation after 1880. From her two bases in Algeria and Senegal she occupied Tunis and Timbuctoo and Upper Nigeria; and further afield occupied Madagascar and Tonquin. Frequently her ambition brought her near to a conflict with us, especially as our protectorate over Egypt was always disliked by her.

A little later Germany began to colonise. It was distasteful to the Hohenzollerns that Germans, when they emigrated, should be naturalised in the British Empire or the United States. Of the vacant spaces of the globe only a few tropical lands remained. William I dying in 1888 and Bismarck being dismissed in 1890, that is the two old men being removed who had had enough of glory, William II struck out a new path for himself. Germany should have "a place in the sun" overseas, and should take the vacant coasts and hinterlands in W., S.W., and E. Africa, and some Pacific islands, by occupation or treaty or purchase. In a bargain concerning E. Africa, Lord Salisbury was induced to give up Heligoland in return for recognition of our suzerainty over Zanzibar. Meanwhile Germans emigrating to Latin America were to consider themselves agents of German "Kultur," devote themselves to the interests of the fatherland rather than to personal adventure, and gradually,

financed by the Kaiser and State banks in proportion to the value of their work, penetrate these countries with a view to their being ultimately German. Others were to carry out a "peaceful penetration" of Britain and the British Empire, of Italy and every European country, even of France, all of them agents and spies, investing capital and getting control of essential industries, and this under cover of British Free Trade and the free institutions of the French and Italians.

Meanwhile in Europe the Triple Alliance of Germany and Austria and Italy faced the Dual Alliance of France and Russia. Yet no war occurred, for the Kaiser had first to build up a German navy. He was not yet aggressive towards us. The French were angry with us, and ever since 1876—78 the Russians were our hereditary enemies, and their ambition, dammed towards Turkey and India, overflowed by way of the new trans-Siberian railway towards Vladivostock. Therefore we still looked with friendly eyes, —though with some little suspicion, e.g. when the Kaiser congratulated Kruger on the defeat of the Jameson raid,— towards Germany. In 1898 the United States fought and beat Spain for the freedom of Cuba, and this was a step towards control of the Isthmus of Panama. In 1894 Japan surprised the world by beating the Chinese and getting a footing on the mainland of Asia, thus becoming a rival to Russia.

Wedded to "splendid isolation," always thinking that we and our trade were necessary to other nations, and somewhat too boastful of our part in past wars, we kept our navy up to date but resolutely refused to increase our army. Then we were suddenly surprised to find how unpopular we were abroad. The French always said that our "strong side" was to get some one else to do our work, Spain and Germany and Russia to overpower Napoleon I, themselves to capture Sebastopol, Austria to counterbalance Russia in the Balkans, and now Japan to be our bulwark in the new Far Eastern Question. The Germans were being systematically taught



Palestine and Egypt: to illustrate the reigns of Richard I, George III, and Victoria

that our help to them had been entirely selfish, that after all it had not been great, that Wellington had deliberately tricked Blucher in the Waterloo campaign, and that we would be easy victims to them when they had a fleet.

War in North and South Africa. Egypt being prosperous under the first civilised government that it had had for many centuries, Lord Salisbury proceeded to the conquest of the Sudan. Our forces had but a short way to march from the head of the railway which had been gradually constructed up the Nile. Kitchener, with both white and black troops, broke the Khalifa—the Mahdi's successor—and occupied the ruins of *Khartum* in 1898. But under cover of our advance a French expedition from north-central Africa reached Fashoda, higher up the Nile; it was withdrawn when sane counsels prevailed, but for a moment excitement was such that the hideous crime of war was almost committed.

In 1899 Boer tyranny over the outlanders in Johannesburg was so pronounced that war resulted. The Orange Free State Boers supported Kruger, and, as most of the Dutch of Cape Colony sympathised, the position was serious. Troops from India were just able to save Natal; but they were surrounded at *Ladysmith*. Redvers Buller's army, arriving from home, was held up at three points, the right as it advanced to relieve Ladysmith, the centre on its way to Bloemfontein, and the left towards Kimberley along the main railway. Roberts and Kitchener were just in time next year to save Kimberley, and thence to move on to Bloemfontein and Johannesburg; meanwhile, the pressure being relaxed, Buller saved Ladysmith. Valuable aid was given by mounted contingents from Australia and New Zealand and Canada, by local Cape corps, and by yeomanry and volunteers from home. For two more years the Boers fought on in their own way until they were worn down. Chamberlain was now Colonial Secretary and, having become a strong imperialist, was very popular. His career

is interesting to study, and he may be very fairly compared to Strafford, the elder Pitt, and Mr Lloyd George; whatever such men do they do with all their might, and, even if they may seem to go back on their past views and leave their old associates, they always in adapting themselves to new conditions show their old energy.

The Cape

Every European nation, with the honourable exception of Italy, reviled us in the press. But not one actually helped the Boers, for our navy was undeniably strong, and co-operation between the Dual and Triple Alliances impossible. In this gloomy period Queen Victoria died.

EDWARD VII, 1901, GEORGE V, 1910

Franco-British Entente.

It is difficult to write of the events of the present century without seeming to be a political partisan. Yet the record is necessary, for since July 1914 we can judge the results by one supreme test. How far has our developed democracy fitted us for the great war?

Lord Salisbury was still Prime Minister, and the Boers were still in arms, when King Edward came to the throne. Since Roberts had left South Africa, Kitchener had been wearing down the Boers, and they came to terms at last in 1902. Both the Transvaal and the Orange Colony were annexed. Some people yet think that the war was fought in the interests of capitalists so that they might get control of the gold mines. Others are tempted to sneer at our regular army which took nearly three years to overcome a few thousands of farmers. It is more fair to make allowance for the difficulties, the enormous area of the operations, the fact that the Boers did not wear uniform so that treachery was hard to detect, and that infantry trained on European methods could not catch up mounted riflemen. The contingents which came from the Dominions did good service, and indeed, from the imperial point of view, their presence in South Africa is the most important feature of the war; yet admiration of Canadian and Australian loyalty need not lead us to neglect to honour our own men.

Two great defensive Treaties. The Boer war was yet raging when a revolt of the Boxers in China threatened

The "Victory" leaving Portsmouth, 12 September 1805

danger to the legations of the various nations at Pekin. All six of the Great Powers of Europe, the United States, and Japan, sent troops to save the legations. It was now that Kaiser William II ordered his men to behave like the Huns of old, and nobly they obeyed him by torturing even peaceful Chinese villagers so as to impress them with a holy terror of the German name. Then our government, conscious of our political isolation, for both wars made us aware of the coldness of the Powers towards us, made a *defensive alliance with Japan*. The sudden rise of that wonderful country is unique in history. Never before has an Eastern Power adopted and improved on European ideas and science, while yet retaining their devotion to their own beliefs and contempt of death. The alliance provided that if one ally should be at war in Asia against two enemies, the other should come in to help. It must be added that neither in the U.S., nor in Canada or Australia, was our policy popular, for it was against the idea of a "white" Pacific coast.

Almost at once followed our famous *Entente Cordiale* with France. Foreseeing statesmen in both countries recognised that mutual recrimination was to the benefit of Germany alone, that German "penetration" was becoming dangerous, and that both French anger against our protectorate of Egypt and our anger against French applause of the Boers should be laid aside. The agreement was purely defensive, and never was there even a suggestion of an offensive against Germany. Disputes were to be settled amicably in whatever part of the globe they occurred, and in particular we were to have a free hand in Egypt and the French in Morocco. The personal influence of Edward VII, who was always popular in France, contributed much to the good understanding, which indeed came about very suddenly.

Very soon it was put to the test. William II invented the phrase "the yellow peril," and called on Nicholas II to defend western civilisation against Japan. As France did not support Russia, Great Britain did not have to support

H.M.S. "Dreadnought"

Japan; but there was a critical moment when Russian warships fired on some of our fishing boats under the mistake that they were Japanese torpedo-craft disguised; the matter was submitted to arbitration and was decided in our favour. The Russians were defeated in the Far East and vexed by the usual revolutionary outburst at home, for war has always brought to them some new phase of nihilism. Then William showed his hand. He declared that the French had no right to control Morocco. He chose his moment well, but it was an incredibly mean game to play, for he was trying to bully France just when Russia, pushed by him into a disastrous war, could not help her. But our statesmen stood loyally by France; Austria was ready to support Germany, but Italy, being already tired of German penetration and dictation, was not. A conference was held at Algeciras near Gibraltar, and William abated his claims. But he probably decided then to hasten on his program of ship-building, so that he might be able on another occasion to be a match for both France and her new defensive ally.

End of the Conservative Ministry. Mr Balfour succeeded Lord Salisbury as Premier. Neither of them saw the necessity of drawing up some scheme to reorganise and increase adequately the army after our South African experience. Also Old Age Pensions and National Insurance and other social questions were in the air, but nothing was done because of the expense. Finance, indeed, was serious, for the Boer war added 200 millions to the National Debt, just the amount by which it had been reduced since 1815.

In order to develop the gold industry in the Transvaal the importation of Chinese coolies was authorised, and this policy was hardly wise, for it seemed to confirm the insinuation that the war had been fought solely for the possession of the mines. The coolies were not slaves, but they had to be controlled and confined to quarters; thus arose the "Chinese slavery" legend.

Then Chamberlain started his campaign for *Tariff*

Reform. He proposed a 2*s.* duty on foreign corn, which would not be enough to make bread very expensive, but would just help the farmers who were on the margin between profit and loss;—there had been a temporary corn duty during the Boer war as a means of revenue, and bread had not been much dearer. Also he proposed a list of duties on manufactured and partly manufactured articles. But there was to be Free Trade within the Empire. We must go back and remember how Disraeli, converted to Free Trade by the prosperity of the farmers in the sixties and even in the seventies, educated the Conservatives to accept it, and he died in 1881 before the great fall in prices. Salisbury died a Free Trader, and Chamberlain did not open the campaign till after his death. Mr Balfour did not like the "whole hog" program. We must also remember that in 1885 Chamberlain set out his program of radical reforms in rivalry to Gladstone, and must acknowledge how strange and unconstitutional it is—i.e. uncustomary, for our Constitution rests largely on unwritten but recognised customs—for a Cabinet minister to launch out on a policy not sanctioned by his chief. Of course Free Trade is not a sacred thing which it is heresy to touch. But it was popular, and the masses benefited by it. As a matter of fact bread and many other necessaries went up in price about 15 per cent. between 1900 and 1914, chiefly because American multi-millionaires combined and got control of a large portion of the world's supply, and therefore our farmers were a trifle better off than in the eighties and nineties.

The main point is that in the election of January 1906 the Conservatives, upset by the suddenness of Chamberlain's proposals and by Mr Balfour's hesitation, lost seats everywhere. It is hardly true to say that Chinese slavery was the chief reason of their defeat, for when men's minds are made up heated talk during the excitement of an election influences very few votes. There was a general sense of mistrust of Conservative policy. And the Trade Unionists were

well organised, knew what they wanted, and meant to bring "labour" to the front.

The Liberal and Labour Reaction. In 1906 the majority was very large. Of the two elections in 1910, the first considerably reduced, and the second partly re-established the majority. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was Premier and showed a good deal of skill in holding together the various sections of the party; Mr Asquith succeeded him. Mr Balfour was displaced as leader of the Opposition by Mr Bonar Law; it seems clear that the Salisbury-Balfour ministries had been too exclusive, consisting of too many aristocrats and not enough business men, and thus the change of leadership was significant. Meanwhile Chamberlain broke down under the severe strain of his Tariff Reform campaign.

The importation of Chinese coolies was stopped, and those already in the Transvaal were sent away gradually Then the Cabinet decided to create the *Union of South Africa*, an amalgamation, not a confederation, of the two British colonies and the two Dutch states into one country with a single Parliament at Cape Town; all the Dutch, even our late enemies, were to have voting powers with the British. It was a leap in the dark after the recent war, but the generous spirit in which it was made has been justified.

At home the difficulty has been how to satisfy all the sections, Liberal, Labour, Irish, which have demanded legislation. Trade Unionists have obtained acts which have greatly strengthened them, the one protecting the Unions from being sued at law as bodies, the other enabling them to levy money on their members for party purposes; the policy has been to attract, or force, non-unionists into the Unions on the ground that all workers benefit by, and therefore should contribute to, such organisations. It is unnecessary to do more than mention Old Age Pensions, Health Insurance, compulsory Early Closing, Payment of M.P.s, Regulation of Wages in some of the sweated in-

dustries in which men and women worked at home without protection from government inspectors, and ever increasing grants of money for Education, all Socialistic and opposed to the old idea of individual liberty. National expenditure, of course, has mounted up until in 1913 it reached nearly 200 millions.

The two dissolutions and general elections of 1910 were due to the rejection by the House of Lords of Mr Lloyd George's budget, a very democratic measure known as "the people's budget." It can hardly be said to have been a wise policy to reject it, for the Commons have always controlled money matters with the merely nominal assent of the Lords. We can now see that to have reserved their strength for a crisis, for instance for a Home Rule Bill, would have been better. The only result was that the Liberals had a cry of "peers against people." Then came the *Parliament Act*, which fixed five years as the limit of a Parliament's life in place of seven, and provided that any bill carried in the Commons three successive years should become law in defiance of rejection by the Lords; King George, it was announced, had consented on the advice of his ministers to swamp the Lords, if need were, and so it was passed. Consequently the Home Rule Bill of 1914 became law, though it is in abeyance during the war.

Outside Parliament there were various movements attended by violence, a bad sign of the class-selfishness of the time. A very big railway strike was ended only after soldiers had been taken from their annual manœuvres to garrison the chief stations. A coal strike followed. Though the men in each case gave way, a combined strike was threatened for a later date. Syndicalism was being organised, a developed form of Trade Unionism, by which the workers meant to obtain control of each separate industry, engineers of engineering for instance. The militant suffragette movement for votes for women led to many acts of violence. The introduction of the Home Rule Bill made the

Protestants of Ulster organise and arm themselves against it, and the Nationalists in favour of it. There was much sedition in India, and even in Egypt, in spite of the justice-loving spirit of our rule; in each country it was caused partly by educated natives who thought themselves fit to have some part in self-government, partly by agitators who can have had but little care for the workers and peasants. The great war stopped each movement and proved the serious loyalty of the great majority of both British and native disturbers of peace. But things were very black in July 1914.

As to the army, the Liberals produced at last a scheme. Six divisions were thought to be sufficient, after their first reserves were called up, to satisfy our national obligations towards France and possibly Belgium; the old historic militia was abolished, and its place taken by special reserve battalions; in place of the volunteers the territorials were raised and organised in divisions, and it was hoped that they would be efficient after six months of intensive training; and the O.T.C. were created to supply a reserve of officers. It was a scheme, and we are thankful that we had it. But it did not give us a force ready to save Belgium. Moreover no provision was made to turn out the vast quantity of guns and munitions that war would require, to prevent the Germans from controlling our dyes and explosives and chemicals, to make allowance for the dislocation of industry when hundreds of thousands of workers would suddenly enlist, to arrange camps and instructors for these same men, to attract a larger proportion of the best brains of the nation into the army by offering decent pay, and so on. The Conservative leaders also never put forward any scheme to double or treble the regular army; it would have been expensive and unpopular, especially after the soldiers had broken down the railway strike. Nor did they as a body support Lord Roberts and National Service, not daring to vote for it even in the House of Lords; it would not have saved Belgium, but it would have given a national register and a skeleton of

organisation. Certainly the British nation was blind, yet had the excuse that the recognised leaders of the parties shrank from leading. Hence in place of paying an extra seven millions a year before war we have paid seven millions a day during war.

We all know that the cause of war arose in the Balkans. In 1908 the party of the Young Turks overthrew the Sultan and set up a new Sultan, and the Kaiser at once pushed himself forward as their friend. Then that remarkable man, Venizelos, worked up an alliance of Greece, Montenegro, Serbia, and Bulgaria. In 1912 these allies defeated the Turks everywhere, but at once quarrelled about the spoils; the Bulgarians attacked Serbia and Greece, were humiliated by defeat, and lost a great deal of land in consequence. But the Kaiser did not give the word for a world-war. Perhaps he was taken by surprise when first the Turks, then the Bulgarians, collapsed; and then he wanted an interval of time, during which they might both rally and look on him as their protector. Also he once more shook his mailed fist in the face of France on the question of Morocco, yet without declaring war; and once more our statesmen were ready to help France.

The actual *casus belli* was the absurdly vindictive ultimatum addressed by the Austrians to Serbia after the murder of their Crown Prince. It was too good a chance to be allowed to pass by. The Germans and Austrians had been worked up to believe themselves to be supermen, immeasurably superior to mere Slavs; if the Russians mobilised to defend Serbia, as indeed they did, they would be supporting accomplices of murderers, and therefore the Slav champions and their allies would be in the wrong. France was at once drawn in as Russia's ally, and we came in when Belgian neutrality was violated. Probably the Kaiser thought that his fleet was at last up to a good enough standard, and that he might safely defy us; moreover our parties were reviling each other on the Home Rule question, and disaffection in

India and Egypt and South Africa might lead to revolts. But the real reason was German pride, and the nation had been inoculated for a long time past with the idea that from the dynasty and the haughty Prussian aristocracy downwards they were invincible, therefore could disregard both law and decency; they were so brutally efficient that of course they could easily trample on France. Then, being held up, they declared that the British had caused the war and that they had only fought in self-defence.

Our boys and girls have now got a test by which they can judge the events of history, Reform Acts, Factory Acts, politics and treaties. This newly developed democracy of ours, has it made us efficient? has it pulled us through the war satisfactorily in spite of mistakes? will it face bravely the questions of reconstruction? Previously students could hardly decide whether even the bill of 1832 was satisfactory, and probably this is the reason why history teaching often stopped short at that year. Now they have to consider it as the first step in a development which has extended to manhood and womanhood (above 30 years of age) suffrage. Similarly Free Trade and especially the bitter struggle of 1846 have to be viewed from the point of the nation's supply of food and materials during the war. Of course the work of the Congress of Vienna, the planting of the Prussians on the Rhine and of the Austrians in N.E. Italy and on the Adriatic coast, explains to us the development of Prussian and Austrian ambitions up to to-day.

But has History even now come to its own? It is still a subordinate subject and counts for very little in many public examinations. Yet it is the one subject that ought to be taken by both classical and mathematical students. It alone can teach voters to distinguish between real patriotism and partisanship, between justifiable national ambition and aggression, between true imperialism and jingoism. Familiarity with the careers of Cromwell, Marlborough, Anson and the elder Pitt, St Vincent and Nelson, Castlereagh and Welling-

ton, might have informed the nation, and through the nation the statesmen, how to be ready for war and how to conduct war. The mere study of tactics would at least have taught how they put their conscience to the work and fitted their means to the one great end, victory; how both army and navy should be used as honourable instruments of defence, not defiance; how sensible co-operation, not individual thrusting and self-advertisement, is the one thing needful in war. The acme of historical ignorance was reached when somebody recently compared a public leader to the younger Pitt, a great statesman undoubtedly in that he understood the aggressive nature of the French Republic, but as a director of war pitiable. Then there are the questions whether a nation has the right to give a bare living wage, or even less, to the men who defend us by land and sea, while profiteer capitalists and middlemen and workmen make money out of the war, and whether the men from the Dominions are always to be paid five times higher than our own men. For the young the lesson of history is this, to recognise that character makes a nation, that haughtiness is worthy only of a Hun, and that it should be the special virtue of the English to be courteous, whether to foreigners or to brother-English who have less of this world's goods. Therefore let the writer end by saying,—yet he does not wish to preach,—that Good Manners is a National Asset.

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